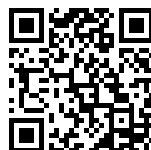

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A KEY
TO
THE WRITINGS
OF THE
PRINCIPAL FATHERS
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

Who flourished during the first three Centuries :

IN
EIGHT SERMONS,

PREACHED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN THE YEAR 1813;

At the Lecture founded by

THE REV. JOHN BAMPTON, M. A.

LATE CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY
THE REV. JOHN COLLINSON, M. A.

RECTOR OF GATESHEAD, DURHAM.

“—Antiquam exquirite matrem.”

“Keep your hold: the Doctors and old Catholic Fathers, in the points

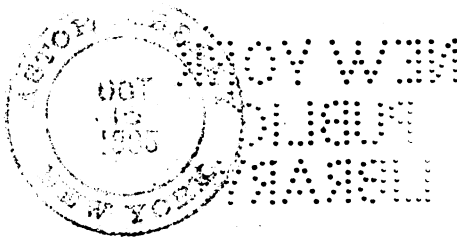
“I have spoken of, are yours.” *Bishop Jewel.*

OXFORD,

At the University Press for F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, St. Paul's Church
Yard, London. Sold also by J. PARKER, Oxford.

1813.

18451-



DEDICATION

TO THE

HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

SHUTE,

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

MY LORD,

NEW YORK

1816

THESE Sermons will derive weight in your Lordship's estimation, from their having been preached at a distinguished seat of learning and theology, before the Members of that University, to which your Lordship is attached by long connection, and by the dignity of an official trust. It is the object of these Discourses to promote true religion by a reference to the faith and practice of primitive Christians: and the plan includes a defence of our established

Church, which is, I believe, identified with Christianity itself.

To a work of this kind I venture to solicit the protection of my Diocesan, with a propriety, which will be obvious to all who consider, that the Bishop of Durham has defended the pure faith once delivered to the saints, by cogent argument, in opposition to superstitions, which are injurious to the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind; that he has exercised in his peculiar function a truly watchful and pastoral care, unbiassed by differences of opinion on subordinate points; and that through the course of a life, venerable from its extent in unimpaired vigour, and more venerable from its habits, he has continued to promote the religious and moral improvement of society, and the general diffusion of beneficial knowledge, by precept, by example, and by a munificence worthy of his high station.

DEDICATION.



I also thought this an opportunity not to be passed over, of publicly testifying my gratitude for your Lordship's patronage, which those who experience acknowledge with the more satisfaction, because it is Reputation.

With every sentiment of gratitude and duty,
I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and
obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COLLINSON.

Rectory House, Gateshead,
Oct. 25, 1813.

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Roman Emperors.	A. D.	Fathers.	According to Cave. A. D.	According to Lardner. A. D.	Editions used in this work.
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Tiberius	37				
Caligula	41	Ignatius	101	107	{ Russel, Lond. 1746.
Claudius	54				
Nero	68	Polycarp	108	108	
Galba	69	Justin Mart.	140	140	Colon. 1686.
Otho	69				
Vitellius	70	Irenæus	167	178	{ Grabe, Oxford. 1702.
Vespasian	79				
Titus	81	Clem. Alex.	192	194	{ Lautet. Paris. 1641.
Domitian	96				
Nerva	98	Tertullian	192	200	Paris. 1608.
Trajan	117				
Adrian	138				
Anton. Pius	161	Origen	230	230	{ Huetius, Rothomag. 1668. and Spencer, Cantab. 1777.
M. Anton.	180				
Commodus	192				
Pertinax	193	Cyprian	248	248	{ Bp. Pearson, Oxford. 1682.
Niger	194				
Severus	198				
Geta	212				
Caracalla	217				
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Maximin	237				
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EXTRACT
FROM
THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT
OF THE LATE
REV. JOHN BAMPTON,
CANON OF SALISBURY.

—— “ I give and bequeath my Lands and
“ Eftates to the Chancellor, Mafters, and Scholars
“ of the Univerfity of Oxford for ever, to have and
“ to hold all and fingular the faid Lands or Eftates
“ upon truft, and to the intents and purpofes herein-
“ after mentioned ; that is to fay, I will and appoint
“ that the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerfity of Ox-
“ ford for the time being fhall take and receive all
“ the rents, iffues, and profits thereof, and (after all
“ taxes, reparations, and neceffary deductions made)
“ that he pay all the remainder to the endowment
“ of eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, to be efta-
“ blifhed for ever in the faid Univerfity, and to be
“ performed in the manner following :

“ I direct and appoint, that, upon the firft Tuef-
“ day in Eaſter Term, a Lecturer be yearly choſen

“ by the Heads of Colleges only, and by no others,
“ in the room adjoining to the Printing-House,
“ between the hours of ten in the morning and
“ two in the afternoon, to preach eight Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons, the year following, at St.
“ Mary’s in Oxford, between the commencement
“ of the last month in Lent Term, and the end of
“ the third week in Act Term.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Di-
“ vinity Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon
“ either of the following Subjects—to confirm and
“ establish the Christian Faith, and to confute all
“ heretics and schismatics—upon the divine au-
“ thority of the holy Scriptures—upon the autho-
“ rity of the writings of the primitive Fathers, as
“ to the faith and practice of the primitive Church
“ —upon the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour
“ Jesus Christ—upon the Divinity of the Holy
“ Ghost—upon the Articles of the Christian Faith,
“ as comprehended in the Apostles’ and Nicene
“ Creeds.

“ Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight
“ Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always printed,
“ within two months after they are preached, and
“ one copy shall be given to the Chancellor of the
“ University, and one copy to the Head of every
“ College, and one copy to the Mayor of the city
“ of Oxford, and one copy to be put into the Bod-
“ leian Library; and the expence of printing them
“ shall be paid out of the revenue of the Land or
“ Estates given for establishing the Divinity Lec-

“ ture Sermons ; and the Preacher shall not be paid,
“ nor be entitled to the revenue, before they are
“ printed.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that no person shall
“ be qualified to preach the Divinity Lecture Ser-
“ mons, unless he hath taken the degree of Master
“ of Arts at least, in one of the two Universities
“ of Oxford or Cambridge ; and that the same per-
“ son shall never preach the Divinity Lecture Ser-
“ mons twice.”

SERMON I.

JEREMIAH vi. 16.

Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.

THE Prophet is here treating of the means suggested by divine mercy for reclaiming the Jews from idolatry and wickedness. As the chief instrument of reformation, he in a preceding verse first mentions Scripture; and then delivers the proposition just read to you, which seems to bear this meaning: ‘Next to the revealed word of God, there is no better incentive to piety than the recorded examples of good men, who in old times have made Scripture the rule of their faith and practice.’

The benefit of these prophetic admonitions is not confined to the times in which they were delivered, or to the particular case of the Jews. Human nature is always the same: and in all ages and countries, pride and bad

passions, operating on a corrupt and rebellious heart, and fomented by the wiles of the tempter, turn men from God, and betray them into infidelity, error, and impure living.

The religious principle indeed, which Providence has interwoven with our constitution, as an instinctive guide to true happiness, seldom suffers total extinction. This is proved by the number of false religions that have continually prevailed in the world; and by the instance before us of the Jews, who lapsed, not into Atheism, but into Idolatry, "and changed " their glory for that which doth not profit^a." As the corporeal senses, rarely obliterated, continually abused to the worst purposes, are yet, under good conduct, the inlets of knowledge and delight; so this natural perception which the mind has of God, though it may degenerate into idolatry and superstition, is seldom entirely lost; and when regulated by religious truth, leads to everlasting bliss.

Need the importance of true religion be magnified? In temporal things it is the minister of peace and good-will, the foundation and support of all virtues and duties, of all exalted, honourable and beneficent actions, both in public and private life; a restraint, more

^a Jerem. ii. 11.

powerful than the laws, upon evil actions and evil thoughts: it blesses and tempers prosperity; and in calamities and sorrow is balm and medicine to the heart; and from it, as from a pure and perennial source, tranquillity and contentment for ever flow. True religion is the conqueror of sin, and of death, the king of terrors; it changes corruption into a crown of glory: it is the love of God, and an assurance that God loveth us, and by contemplation, and prayer, and holiness, prepares us for an inseparable union with him hereafter, that consummate and infinite happiness to which our nature secretly, yet earnestly aspires.

The expectation of these blessings reaches not the ungodly; nor does the promise of them extend to those who worship false gods, or who pay to the true God a mistaken service. "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" saith the Lord: and by the mouth of Jeremiah, "My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water^b." The most strenuous exertions, under the influence of divine inspiration, are necessary to prevent religious persuasion from sinking into a careless vague laxity both of belief and practice, which

^b Jerem. ii. 13.

rather resembles involuntary instinct, than a worship of the Supreme Being, becoming rational creatures, and such as he requires, in spirit and in truth. The negligence on this subject, too prevalent in the world, is at the same time inexcusable, and productive of the most fatal consequences. God has linked together our duty and our happiness: and these united motives impel us to make religion our chief concern, that we should study to know and to obey the will of God. In comparison of this object, all other employments are of inferior use, all other pursuits subordinate: this proposes to our affections and faculties their due and proper exercise, and is attended with an inestimable reward. Let us then shake off sloth and evil habits, that weigh down the soul, and employ, by divine blessing, all means for the attainment of true religion; directing to this use the treasures of history and learning, the deductions of reason, and the discoveries of science. This should be the chief object of life: in this pursuit we may contemplate the glories of creation, and the destinies of human affairs with new and better feelings, and a more beneficial effect; and raising our thoughts from God's footstool to his throne, may behold him, as it were visibly, in the works of his power, and the dispensations of his providence.

Above all, in order “to make us wise unto “salvation^c,” we are to study holy Scripture, which the divine Spirit has mercifully given, that we might “believe that Jesus is Christ, “the Son of God; and in believing might “have life through his name^d.” Such is the scope and design of Scripture: “other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which “is Jesus Christ^e;” and it behoves us to take care, that like wise builders we erect upon this foundation, not hay and stubble, but a solid and precious superstructure.

The operations of the Holy Ghost are indeed unbounded, and touch men’s consciences with a sense of piety in more various ways than can be expressed. Still the revealed word is the rule of true religion, which it is the duty of all members of Christ’s church, and particularly of the Ministers of his flock, unceasingly to study, and by all just means to explain, recommend, and enforce.

Next to the volume of inspiration, and agreeably to the prophetic intimation in my text, we are to “inquire for the old paths;” to fix our attention upon the recorded memorials of holy men, who in ancient times have trod the good way, and found rest for their souls. They constitute that history, which is the best philo-

^c 2 Tim. iii. 15. ^d John xxiii. 31. ^e 1 Cor. iii. 10.

sophy, teaching by the best examples. Human performances admit of constant and progressive improvement; but divine truths are only to be explained, not amended: and it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that they who lived nearest to the times of revelation will manifest its most powerful direction and influence; as water near the fountain-head is in most abundance and purity.

Actuated by these or similar impressions, the Founder of this Lecture, in a judicious selection of various topics, has proposed "the authority of the writings of the primitive Fathers as to the faith and practice of the primitive Church." In obedience to his injunction I wish to call the attention of my audience to the writings of those Christians who lived in the three first centuries: and in order satisfactorily to ascertain their real value and importance, it is my purpose, in the ensuing discourse, to treat of them generally, and to examine what have been the sentiments entertained of them at different times in the Christian world.

During the fourth and fifth centuries, which are the Augustan age of ecclesiastical literature, the numerous authors who then flourished prove, by continual quotations, the integrity of the antecedent writings that have come down to us. They speak of their predecessors,

not indeed in terms of blind zeal and indiscriminate attachment, but with respect and confidence: and this testimony is weighty, because it is immediate, moderate, and reasonable.

Eusebius makes frequent mention of them: the writings of Justin Martyr he considers “ ample records of an understanding well “ informed, and especially imbued with the “ studies of divinity, pregnant with usefulness^f.” He says, that “ in Irenæus may be “ found the beginnings of heresies, the lives of “ their authors, the foundation of their false “ doctrines, and briefly all their pursuits:” that “ Irenæus and Clemens of Alexandria “ are witnesses worthy of the greatest credit, “ defenders of the true doctrine of the Church^g:” and again; “ Clemens has left us a copious “ harvest of useful and multifarious erudition “ in his work properly entitled *Στεφανισμός*, and “ resembling variegated tapestry; for in it are “ interwoven flowers of holy writ, the opinions of Gentiles, Greek and barbarian, the “ tenets of philosophers, and a confutation of “ heresiesⁱ.” The same historian, alluding to a solemn adjuration of fidelity, which Irenæus makes to the transcriber of his works, adds,

^f Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 18.

^g Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 13.

^h Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 23.

ⁱ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 13.

“ This I think proper to record also, in order
 “ that we may always retain before us, in these
 “ primitive and truly righteous men, the best
 “ models of zeal and diligence^k. ”

St. Jerome, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, characterizes “ the learned philosophy
 “ of Justin, chastised by religion; the compre-
 “ hensive and miscellaneous erudition of Cle-
 “ mens, the stern vehemence of Tertullian,
 “ and the adamantine powers of the indefati-
 “ gable Origen^l. ”

The same author says, “ No testimony is
 “ needed to Cyprian’s works, for their light is
 “ spread like the sun^m: ” and he compares “ his
 “ language to the pleasing flow of a gentle and
 “ placid streamⁿ. ”

St. Augustin thus expresses in general terms his opinion of the authority of the primitive writings: “ Compositions of this kind have not
 “ canonical authority. Readers of the Fathers
 “ are not to suppose that the testimonies pro-
 “ duced from their works are unexceptionable;
 “ for their opinions may in particular cases be
 “ untrue. Truly catholic and praise-worthy
 “ as they were, we are not to esteem their
 “ writings on a level with holy Scripture: on
 “ the contrary, we may, with all the honour
 “ and deference due to them, blame whatever

^k Euseb. lib. v. cap. 20.

^m Ibid. et Ep. ad Paul.

^l St. Jerome, vol. i. p. 119.

ⁿ Ibid.

“ in them, by divine assistance and sound reasoning, we discover to be unfounded.”

This judicious caution of St. Augustin seems to be directed against an excessive reliance upon the authority of the Fathers, which probably appeared in his time; and after the decease of those who may be called classical Fathers, increased, in the sixth century, with the growing superstitions of the age.

We may suppose that converted Pagans, remembering their old idolatries, fostered in the Christian church a too great veneration for the departed; and that the barbarous conquerors of Rome^p, from their ignorance and credulous devotion, were habitually tractable to the fancies of custom, and prescriptive authority. Whatever were the causes of religious degene-

° Epist. ad Vincent. ad Fortunat.

p Observe the resemblance between the Druidical and Papal power: “ Illi (Druides) rebus divinis interfunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem.” Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. vi. f. 12. ‘Ὁν (the Druids) ἀνευ τοῖς βασιλευσιν οὐδεν ἐξήν πρᾶττειν, οὐδε βουλευεσθαι ὥστε, το μὲν ἀληθες, ἐκείνους ἀρχεῖν. Chrysoſt. Orat. 49.

racy, it is certain that by imperceptible degrees the doctrines of men superseded the letter of Scripture, and became the acknowledged standard of religious truth. Then the Church, or Romish clergy, enhancing her own credit, asserted that the opinions which she taught were coeval with the promulgation of the Gospel, and her decisions so divinely inspired as not to be subject to error or change.

It was necessary to follow up the traces of those tenets, which not being in Scripture, were yet declared to be primitive and invariable: and as some passages in the writings of some of the Fathers were found to countenance them, an appeal to their authority was established. The valuable compositions of these venerable men were not referred to with a comprehensive design of elucidating Scripture, of comparing and analysing their expositions upon important points of faith and practice, and of settling or moderating differences by a candid statement of their real sentiments, or the healing influence of their charitable example. Their works were read and quoted, not for the liberal purpose of illustrating general truths of great moment, but with the particular limited design of supporting established institutions. The doctrines of the Church, emphatically so styled, were not then to be regulated by the sentiments of the Fathers; but the Fathers were to

ſpeak the language of the Church; and in order to ſupport a dogmatical influence, detached paſſages were carefully brought forward from their writings, ſometimes in a partial and perverted ſenſe, ſometimes of a miſtaken tendency.

Affuredly we are all liable to be biaſſed by preconceived opinions, and to view the ſtraight canon of truth diſtorted through the medium of inveterate prejudice. But during the period of which I am ſpeaking, and which extended through the long lapſe of nearly a thouſand years, from the ſixth to the ſixteenth century, the human mind was in a ſtate of almoſt unexampled bondage, under a double chain; for while men ſubjected their underſtandings, with implicit deference, to precedent, that precedent was injudiciously ſelected, and conſiſted unfortunately in a great meaſure of errors ſanctioned by the great names of men, who, however deſerving of honour and reſpect, were yet fallible.

In thoſe times copies of voluminous compoſitions were rare: few perſons had the ability, and ſtill fewer the inclination, to ſtudy and peruſe attentively the works of the Fathers. The generality of mankind were contented to take their opinions at ſecond hand: and conſequently the moſt popular and favourite authors of the dark ages were thoſe who made compilations, or, as they were termed, chains of

the Fathers, which consisted of a string of quotations from their different works, appended to texts of scripture, in a formal method, but without spirit or luminous arrangement. From these concatenated references, and a dexterity in wielding the Categories of Aristotle, the "irrefragable and seraphic" Doctors of the Schools obtained their unenviable celebrity. Works were published to maintain "the inviolability of the authority of the holy and "orthodox Fathers"; and councils deferred to the same. To propose doubts, to weigh opinions, was deemed contumacy and presumption; and to differ, heresy.

^a Mosheim, lib. ii. p. 328.

^r Fleury, lib. xlix. Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, (A. D. 590.) Isidore of Seville, and venerable Bede, compiled their commentaries from preceding Fathers, chiefly St. Augustin. Fleury, Eccles. Hist. lib. xxxvi. and xxxviii. St. John Damascenus, who lived in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the eighth century, wrote "Concerning the orthodox Faith," and "sacred Parallels." He professedly brings forward nothing of his own, but builds on the authority of the ancients. Damasc. Dialect. cap. 1. and 3. In the Latin Church Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, followed the same path, and avows, that "he purposes to collect together only the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church." Lombard Prolegom. Thomas Aquinas, in the 13th century, pursued the same method: and these were the most celebrated theologians of their times; "their works were a canon, their authority was law." Aquinas's Catalogue of References includes only one Father who lived before Constantine.

Had this coerced uniformity subsisted only as to leading essential points of faith and practice, established on the clear word of Scripture, explained by reason and the evidence of the Fathers, much might be pleaded in its defence. But it must be remembered, that the authority of the Fathers was not only exaggerated beyond all bounds, but their sentiments were also partially extracted, and misrepresented: and the credit of their influence, which would have been legitimately employed in promoting holiness of heart and vital religion, was very much directed to extend a temporal jurisdiction.

It may be proper for me to remark, that the Fathers of the three first centuries are rarely quoted by the School-Divines; and the genuine simplicity of their writings is not easily convertible to the purposes of superstition.

At the time of the Reformation, when the Protestants began to resist the unwarrantable powers which had for ten centuries been ascribed to human authority, they attacked the method adopted by the School-Divines, and reduced within legitimate bounds the credit of the Fathers^s. Thus Martin Luther,

^s Erasmus had indeed led the way, as the following just observations testify: "Haud scio an ex universo mortalium genere præter unum Christum quisquam invenitur, qui nusquam lapsus sit verbo: aut inter omnia scriptorum genera sit ullus liber absque nevo erroris, præter

in one of the tracts which he published, A. D. 1520, in answer to the Pope's bull of excommunication, uses this exhortation; "Setting
 " aside an implicit dependence on all human
 " writings, let us strenuously adhere to the
 " Scriptures alone. The primitive Church acted

" scripturam canonicam, quæ tam nescit fallere, quam ipse
 " Spiritus divinus cujus afflatu prodita est. Ut enim omitta-
 " mus Philosophos gentium, qui nihil aliud erant quam
 " homines, quem dabis ex his, qui monumentis suis eccle-
 " siam illustrarunt, adeo vel cautum, vel felicem, ut nus-
 " quam exciderit quod merito possit reprehendi, aut ali-
 " quo pacto vocari in calumniam. Magnus Ecclesiæ doc-
 " tor fuit Origenes, de cujus fontibus omnium ferme Græ-
 " corum ingenia sunt irrigata: ad hæc martyr is filius, ipse
 " martyrii candidatus: sed quam multa in hujus viri scrip-
 " tis leguntur plusquam hæretica? Ruinæ occasio fuit phi-
 " losophia Platonica. Quod Origenes fuit Græciæ, cujus
 " in divinis libris studium feliciter excitavit, hoc Afris fuit
 " Tertullianus, vir omni disciplinarum genere perpolitus,
 " perspicacis ingenii, exactique judicii, sed hic amore vir-
 " ginitatis impegit in errorem improbatæ digamiæ, tan-
 " dem non tam in Montani dogma prolapsus, quam fac-
 " tioni Montanenium adjunctus, a qua postea sic amputavit
 " sese ut tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ non reconciliaretur.
 " Quid Cypriano sanctius aut Apostolico spiritui propius?
 " Non effugit nævum, quod ab hæreticis tinctos censeret
 " retingendos. Cujus erroris plurimos Episcopos habebat
 " socios. Irenæus omnibus disciplinis affatim instructus,
 " et in sacris literis sic versatus, ut dicas illum nihil aliud
 " scisse, qui sic tractavit rem fidei catholicæ, ut sentias
 " illum amasse quod docuit, tamen prolapsus est in dogma
 " Chiliastrarum, nec de resurrectione per omnia docuit
 " quod nunc docet Ecclesia Catholica." *Erasm. Enarrat. ad*
Psalm xxxviii. lib. v. p. 362. Edit. Basil. apud Froben. 1540.

“ thus; he must have acted so; for he had no
 “ writings of the Fathers. Let the Fathers be
 “ allowed to have been holy men; still they
 “ were only men, and men inferior to Pro-
 “ phets and Apostles. It is enough that we
 “ have learned from them the duty of studying
 “ and diligently labouring in the Scriptures: it
 “ is not necessary that we should approve of
 “ all their works[†].”

Expressions of this kind shew in how undue a manner the see of Rome had been accustomed to lean for support upon the authority of the Fathers: and moreover, that at the dawn of Reformation the primitive writings were generally supposed to be more favourable to the Papal cause, than upon strict examination proved really to be the case. In fact, the time was now come for turning the stream of antiquity against those very persons who had so long directed it through their own channels: and to this event the “ number of editions of the works of the Fathers, published throughout Europe in consequence of the invention of printing, greatly contributed. Men saw clearly for themselves that venerable form of genuine

[†] Milner's Hist. vol. iv. p. 492.

[‡] Before the year 1530, editions of the Fathers were printed in Germany, at Venice, and particularly at Basle in Switzerland by Froben under the eye of Erasmus, and by Henry Stephens at Paris.

Christianity, which had been but partially exhibited, as it were through a mist. (1559) The Magdeburgh Centuriators, as they were called, published their account of the first centuries from authentic records, which much strengthened the Protestant cause: and (1565) Bishop Jewel in England preached a celebrated sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he challenged all the Romanists to produce any one passage from any author of the six first centuries in favour of the controverted points*. They perceived the necessity of defending themselves; and towards the end of the sixteenth century, appeared the voluminous Annals of Baronius, the labour of twenty years, executed under the express patronage of the Papacy, and with the avowed design of supporting it on the credit of primitive documents.

While the appeal to antiquity was prosecuted by both parties, the controversy took a new turn; the Protestants perhaps feared, that by this recurrence to the Fathers and records of the Church, they derogated too much from

* Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 461.

† These fears were not groundless. A Dr. Cheney, Bishop of Gloster, (1568,) was accused of being popishly inclined. He asserted that the sense of Scripture was to be tried by the consent of the Fathers only: "Let them bring me the consent of the Fathers for these things now in controversy: otherwise I will not yield to them, nor be of their judgment." Collier, vol. ii. p. 519.

Scripture, the only infallible rule of faith and practice. In the year 1631 M. Daillé, a reformed Minister of Paris, published a work of great celebrity, the effects of which are probably still felt. His professed design is to prove, that as the Reformers place the standard of orthodoxy in Scripture, and the Papists in tradition, the primitive writings are not the proper media for settling the points in dispute between them; each party having an appeal to a separate higher tribunal. Salmasius, Blondel, and Chillingworth advanced the same opinions, which are in the main just. But besides this proposition, Daillé's treatise contained articles respecting the mistakes of the Fathers, and their disagreement with each other and with themselves. Pious minds were somewhat shocked at the tenets of this school, as tending injuriously to throw into discredit the primitive writings, and their authors; while hitherto a degree of veneration almost sacred had attached to both. Yet the intention of this eminent Critic seems to have been far otherwise; for as the result of his inquiries he estimates the authority of the Fathers second only to Scripture, terming it a subordinate fence and protection of divine truth, "*repagulum secundum post Scripturas*."

Meanwhile the Protestants themselves

² Dallæus, p. 362.

unhappily split into different societies; some of whom systematically rejected any appeal to human authority in religious matters. Moderate men saw that these continual innovations had a tendency to introduce an extreme, opposite indeed to Popery, but not less dangerous. To check and counteract this restless and inordinate spirit, many *Divines in England endeavoured to restore a due and proper estimation to the primitive writings: and of these none occupy a more distinguished place than Bishop Bull and Dr. Cave. The latter indeed was accused, by the learned Le Clerc, of partiality, of writing rather panegyrics upon the Fathers, than their lives; but notwithstanding this censure, his *Historia Literaria*, which contains an

* Abp. Usher (1612) continued Bishop Jewel's challenge against the Romanists, with reference to the writers who lived from the seventh to the tenth century; and he also discovered and edited some writings of the Apostolic Fathers. Archbishop Wake translated into English all the works of the Apostolic Fathers. Bishops Fell and Pearson, and Dr. Grabe, distinguished themselves as editors and vindicators of the primitive writings. Mr. Dodwell, in his dissertations upon St. Cyprian, and particularly in those upon Irenæus, turns the authority of these Fathers against the Papists, and attempts a refutation of M. Daillé's positions, with learning more than equal to his other powers. Though he estimates at too high a rate the value of the primitive writings, he was one of the first who turned his attention to the just and important principle, that the canon of Scripture and the genuineness of tradition both rest upon the early memorials of the Christian Church.

account of all the records of the Christian Church for fifteen centuries, is a wonderful monument of indefatigable labour, erudition, judgment, and piety; and will I believe be found one of the best guides extant to the study of genuine Christian antiquity.

A similar spirit operated among the Romanists, who perceived that their advocates, following the steps of Baronius, had gone too far; had vindicated not the faith, but the court of Rome; not the catholic religion, but the Papacy. A more moderate and more worthy defence appeared in the ecclesiastical memoirs of the first six centuries by M. Tillemont, an author, who though not free from the imputation of superstition, is yet of acknowledged fidelity. A still greater work is Fleury's History of the Church, which contains a more accurate and luminous summary of the primitive writings than I have elsewhere seen. His preliminary discourses are candid, judicious, and edifying, and breathe an unction of devotion and charity, worthy of primitive times, and in the best spirit of the Romish Church.

Notwithstanding these efforts, and the ^b exertions of editors in different parts of Christen-

^b Dr. Cave in his Prolegomena, sect. vii. observes, that the editions of the Fathers that appeared from the time of the invention of printing until the year 1517, the beginning of the Reformation, "*auro contra non charæ*

dom, it should seem that, since M. Daillé's publication, the writings of the Fathers have not recovered in public estimation that veneration which before attached to them.

A severe attack was made upon their credit and value in a work published^c under the

estimari debent;" because they suffered no interpolations or convenient corrections. Yet the labours of the Benedictine Monks much facilitated the study of the primitive writings. The "*Dogmata Theologica*" of Petavius, a French Jesuit, (1650,) is considered a work of immense erudition: but his statement of the sentiments of the Fathers of the three first centuries has afforded an unintended and unfounded triumph to the Unitarians. The design of Petavius is to exalt the authority of oral tradition, and consequently the power of the Church of Rome, at the expence of the credit of the Fathers. Milton, with the very opposite view of overthrowing prelatical power, and of establishing the discipline of Calvin, depreciates, in a tract published in 1641, the primitive writings, which he seems to have read cursorily. The reader may judge of the style of this treatise from the following sentence: "Whatsoever time or the heedless hand of blind chance hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the Fathers." Thus the Theologians of the opposite parties, of the Church of Rome, and of Presbyterianism, agree in disparaging the Fathers: in both cases they perceived that the faith and practice of the primitive Church, as recorded in these early and authentic writings, were repugnant to their peculiar tenets.

^c By Dr. Conyers Middleton in 1748. His statements have been well refuted in Mr. Kett's Bampton Lectures, to which the reader is referred.

title of a "Free Enquiry into the miraculous Powers ascribed to the early Christian Church." The accounts of miraculous gifts, carefully extracted from all the Fathers of the three first centuries, occupy eight of his pages: and upon such brief and shallow evidence, and the exaggeration of some incidental mistakes, this author, forgetful of the decency of his own professional character, and omitting to consider the principal purport of their writings, ventures to stigmatize them, by a sweeping impeachment, as fabricators of pious frauds, or weak enthusiastic believers in fabulous legends. An elegant and lively style gave undeserved celebrity to this insidious composition, which is as deficient in sound reasoning, as its tendency is injurious to vital religion.

Scepticism has not succeeded in disproving the accounts of primitive miraculous powers: but were the testimony of the Fathers on this particular point quite invalidated, the general importance of their writings would suffer little diminution. The history of venerable Bede affords material instruction, although one third part of it contains more legends, than are in all the Christian writers of the three first centuries. Livy and Thuanus relate idle and incredible auguries, tales, and omens; yet the veracity and impartiality of these two historians, in the general statement of facts, have immortalized

their names. But the truth is, these primitive Christians are, in comparison of other ancient writers, remarkably free from a superstitious bias, and preserve upon sacred subjects that happy moderation which is equally removed from the extremes of fanaticism and unbelief.

Another misrepresentation of the Fathers occurs in the statements of some late ^cwriters, who have attempted to shew that the writings of the three first centuries are not inconsistent with the tenets of modern Unitarians. This assertion, the tendency of which is so detrimental to their credit, has been canvassed and refuted by able ^dchampions for the truth: and it appears to have originated in the circumstance, that the arguments of the Fathers are not so immediately and diffusely urged against Unitarianism, as against other heresies, which being more prevalent in their time, required to be guarded against with more vigilance and vigour. Such indeed is the result of their indirect testimony, that one of the most important uses to which the primitive writings have been applied, by a commentator of first-rate capacity, is in defence of the Trinitarian doctrine.

^c Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Priestley.

^d Particularly Dr. Burgh, whose work procured him the honour of a diploma degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford: and Dr. Horsley, late Bishop of St. Asaph.

This is not the scheme of a weak brain, and credulous heart, or a mere contention for forms: we need not fear to place the name of Bishop Bull against any and all the Socinian writers, in a comparative estimate of sound learning, powerful reasoning, and that primitive piety, integrity, and innocence of manners, which he copied in his life. The works of this eminent man, together with those of Cave and Fleury, I would recommend as guides to all who engage in the study of the Fathers. These are among the theologians, who have made the most valuable use of the primitive writings: and their comments are capable of a beneficial effect, only inferior to that which a perusal of the originals themselves may produce. A bare enumeration of modern productions relative to the Fathers, without critical remarks, would require a voluminous dissertation, far too extensive for the present occasion. I must be contented with referring those who wish for more information, to the sources already named^c: but I cannot close

^c The student may also be referred to the "Bibliotheca Græca," by Fabricius of Hamburgh (1720). Dr. Marsh mentions the "Bibliotheca Patristica" of Professor Walch of Jena, in one vol. 8vo. 1770: and Schænenman's Account of the Latin Fathers, 2 vol. 8vo. Leipzig, 1792: but these works I have not been able to procure.

Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. History will be found very useful in reading the Fathers: his learning and judg-

this summary account without adverting to the great work on "the Credibility of the Gospel History," in which the respectable author has accurately established the canon of Scripture, upon evidence collected from the writings of the Fathers.

The review which has been now made, however imperfect, is I trust an impartial statement of varying opinions, and sufficiently faithful to support this probable conclusion, that a just estimation and proper use of the writings of the Fathers, are great means for promoting true religion. We have seen that the advocates for the see of Rome, having invested a human authority with infallibility in matters of religion, maintained, as a natural consequence of this principle, an unjustifiable reliance on primitive testimonies; and overwhelmed the word of God beneath the collected commentaries of men. On the other hand some reformers, in an opposite extreme, have treated all human authorities, not ex-

ment compensate for that want of method which throws an appearance of carelessness over the work. To these may be added the treatise "De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum" by the diligent and candid Mosheim, which has not, I believe, been translated: and Mr. Milner's History of the Church of Christ, who feelingly portrays, in lively colours, the primitive religion. Dr. Mosheim's original materials will hardly bear in some instances the extensive fabric he constructs upon them.

cepting the Fathers, as nugatory and insignificant: and moreover, the mistakes and errors that occur in the early Christian writings have been either exaggerated or misunderstood so far, as effectually to lower their credit and value, and to render them altogether of no avail. The one party would make the writings of the Fathers an inviolable standard of religious orthodoxy: the other would consign them over to oblivion and contempt. Between these two extreme opinions, lies a middle and just judgment, which seems to have been adopted, with unanimous concurrence, by the best and wisest men of different periods: particularly by the great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and by their great successors, the Fathers and Founders of our English reformed Church. They rested their doctrine upon the rock of Scripture only: but they bring arguments and examples to illustrate this doctrine, and especially to support ecclesiastical ceremonies and discipline, from the primitive writings. An intimate familiarity with them, accompanied with habitual respect, is exhibited in the Homilies of our Church, in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, and in the writings of our old and soundest divines.

Under the guidance of this temperate judgment, we may learn to contemplate the Fa-

thers of the Christian Church with veneration indeed, but not superstitiously; and to form a sober rational estimate of the value of their writings, upon solid grounds. The integrity of them is sufficiently ascertained: though some compositions, ascribed to primitive times, have been found to be spurious, and others interpolated, for many of them we have a continued chain of evidence, that establishes their authenticity according to every legitimate test of criticism. Classical literature mourns for the treasures of which time has robbed her, and regards among her most precious deposits those which have been preserved from his ravages. And shall not a feeling equally strong and more laudable induce us Christians to cherish with pious care the remains of that age, when religious taste, if I may be allowed the expression, was most exquisite and correct? I am aware that a specious attempt has been made to depreciate the model of primitive times^f, and to represent them as unworthy of respectful emulation in an enlightened age: but all insinuations of this kind are justly treated as artifices of concealed infidelity, as strokes indirectly aimed

^f Dr. Middleton, in the preface to his free Enquiry, says that the Fathers “are witnesses only, not guides, declaring “what was believed in their time, not what is true, what “was practised, not what ought to be practised.”

at Revelation itself. The testimonies of the Fathers are to be collected, not with partial views or from detached passages, but according to the general scope of their writings; they are to be sifted and compared among themselves, and with other good evidence; and the result is to be weighed in the balance of reason, and regulated by the unalterable canon of God's sacred word. We pay implicit deference to no authority but Scripture; we own no subjection but that which reason prescribes. It is granted that the Fathers were men fallible and infirm: they committed mistakes; neither did they write in the style of elegant scholars; they have incautiously advanced some things of which the Church of Rome has taken advantage as a foundation for superstition.

But notwithstanding all the deductions which truth and propriety suggest, the just and legitimate influence of the Fathers must rank very high. It cannot be supposed that Christians who lived so near to the time of our Lord's Incarnation, and the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit, and who enjoyed the teaching of the Apostles, could err much in essential matters; they must have known the way of salvation. In attempting to teach the Gospel to others, their incidental mistakes are such as might be expected; for no compo-

sitions are perfect, except the volume of Inspiration. It was perhaps providentially designed that the best of human works should demonstrate, by a comparative inferiority, the necessity and transcendent excellence of God's revealed word. But it is not probable that any weakness or enthusiasm should obliterate the true faith in the breasts of these early proselytes: on the contrary, if the fundamental articles of vital religion are discoverable in any writings, besides holy Scripture, it is surely reasonable to conclude that they are contained in those of the primitive Fathers.

Will it still be suggested that, although these labours of the first Christians are come down to us in a genuine state, and although the authors of them were themselves instructed in true religion, and were probably enabled to communicate such instruction to others, yet they may have been insincere, and did in fact impose upon the world pious frauds, and "cunningly devised fables?" This cannot well be the case, unless Christianity itself be a "cunningly devised fable." The charge of insincerity supposes some selfish worldly motives; and how could these operate upon men who renounced temporal riches and honours, and voluntarily encountered a life of labour, poverty, and painful suffering, attended

with ignominy and odium and persecution, and finally closed by martyrdom? The truth is, that the evidently disinterested zeal of primitive Christians furnishes one convincing proof of the reality of that faith, which could inspire such great and noble acts. And a contrary supposition can only be resolved into the credulities of infidelity, a phrase, seemingly paradoxical, but often too fatally verified in fact.

All nations regard with a devoted attachment the memorials of their remote ancestry: the primitive Christians are our forefathers in the pedigree of opinion, a connection closer than that of consanguinity or country; and from them we inherit, in lineal descent, the best patrimony, religious truth. More especially when those ancestors are men of virtuous renown, heroes, and benefactors to mankind, we feel touched with a consciousness of the true dignity of human nature, exemplified in persons who, blessed with the aid of God's Spirit, have withstood the vicissitudes and temptations of life with unshaken constancy, and have thus displayed marks of an immortal soul, superior in its essence to the perishable condition of earthly things. In this good way did the first disciples of our Lord and Master walk, animated by faith and hope in their crucified Redeemer; and

these motives shed a radiance of sanctity over their memories.

While we thank God for these examples and monuments of his grace in our Christian Church; let us remember that we are called upon, not to a similitude of profession only, but farther to an imitation of primitive faith and practice, “knowing that they which are “of faith are the children of Abraham^s.” Let us not hesitate to apply to this model the admonition of the Jewish Prophet; “Let us “ask for the old Christian paths, where is the “good way, and walk therein; and God grant “that we may so find rest for our souls,” of his infinite mercy through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whom &c.

^s Gal. iii. 7.

S E R M O N I I .

. I JOHN V. 4.

*This is the victory that overcometh the world, even
our faith.*

THE subject proposed for your consideration is an investigation of religious truth, by means of the writings of the Christian Fathers, who lived during the first three centuries. In pursuing this plan, my meaning is to enter into a detailed account of their contents, to give a key, as it is often called, to the genuine compositions of three apostolical Fathers, and of six their principal successors. For the sake of preserving distinctness and method in examining a wide range of various matter, I wish to select two points in particular for attentive observation; and these are the Divine Atonement, and the Evidences of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. This arrangement will direct our inquiries to fundamentals of vital religion, essential articles of faith and

practice, without precluding such remarks as may seem pertinent upon the peculiar leading characteristics of each author. A secondary benefit flowing from it will be, an opportunity of defending most important doctrines of our established Church against prevailing errors: and there can be no doubt that a defence of this kind was among the objects, which the Founder of this salutary and honourable appointment chiefly intended, and had most at heart. To support that visible Society in which true religion is maintained in greatest purity, is the next thing to supporting true religion.

The two cardinal doctrines above mentioned are sometimes denied, sometimes holden in a sense unauthorized, as we conceive, by Scripture. The Reformers separated from the Church of Rome chiefly because she ascribed to good works an efficacy and virtue, meritorious, and satisfactory for sin: so all-important did they esteem the doctrine which the Church of England maintains, from Scripture, that the blood of Christ shed on the Cross is the one, only and complete ransom and satisfaction for the sins of mankind. By Unitarians the divine atonement is altogether denied: and here it may be premised, that, in collecting the opinions of the Fathers, a testimony to the divinity of Jesus Christ, or

a testimony to the atonement which he offered for sin, will equally support both these articles of the Christian faith; for that they are inseparable from each other, I believe is not disputed. Again, with regard to the subject of the evidences of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the Church of Rome has supposed that they are, by rightful inheritance, her exclusive possession and property; and that a man can be sure of having the Holy Ghost only when he is a member of her communion. Some Christian societies have maintained that the divine inspiration is distributed by a predestination, more or less defined and marked among God's elect: and others, that the proofs of its presence consist in certain inward feelings and assurances, which are so loosely described, that it is not easy to understand what is really meant by them. The doctrine of our Church on this head is plain and clear, namely, that a man can know he has the Holy Ghost, only by examining the purity of his life, ^hand the goodness of his actions performed according to the prescribed rule of God's word.

In searching for the sentiments of the Fathers upon these subjects, the bias of a man's judgment will naturally incline towards that

^h See the Homilies for Whit-sunday.

society of which he is a professed member : partiality and habit will perhaps cause him to overlook those passages which make against his private opinions, and to magnify into clear and decisive testimonies in favour of his own Church, expressions which are in reality of a dubious or unimportant tendency. Still the Fathers may be expected, as it has been already stated, to speak plainly and unequivocally upon essential matters : and vigilant caution will prevent mistakes, causing the examiner, who begins his task in honest sincerity, to proceed in delivering the whole truth, as he finds it, with soberness and moderation of spirit, and in the language of decency and candour ; so that, if it should be impossible to “ give no offence in any “ thingⁱ,” he may at least hope to exercise a faithful ministry, without reasonable cause of blame. And may God of his mercy grant that among us, and all who are gathered together in his name, both those who speak and those who hear, may have the fear of him, and the desire of his glory always before them ; and by comfort and aid of his Holy Spirit, may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed means of everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

ⁱ 2 Cor. vi. 3.

The Gospel-history, unlike all others, is clearest at the beginning. The first planting of the Church of Christ is accurately described in the epistles of the Apostles, and particularly in the incomparable narrative of their Acts: but when the sacred volume closes, obscurity begins. We find the Gospel spread over the earth, but of the means and manner of its propagation there are no distinct accounts; and the prophecy is fulfilled, “So
“is the kingdom of God, as if a man should
“cast seed into the ground, and should sleep,
“and rise night and day, and the seed should
“spring and grow up he knoweth not how^k.” The writings that remain of this early period are few in number, and of no great length; and plainly shew that the primitive Christians were more intent upon the excellence of their lives, than of their writings. Three compositions are extant, which are ascribed to the fellow-labourers of the Apostles, whose names are recorded in the New Testament. But two of them, the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, on account of many mistakes and injudicious observations which they contain, are, by competent judges^l, deemed spurious and unwor-

^k Mark iv. 26.

^l Mr. Jeremiah Jones, and Mr. Milner. The testimonies of Barnabas and Hermas have however been adduced, to

thy of their nominal authors. And the only pleas that can be urged in mitigation of this sentence are, that these writings may have been interpolated, and that they exhibit sentiments of the firmest devotional confidence towards God. Still as it is not desirable to rely upon questionable authority, I pass on to the Epistle of Clement, which was addressed to the Corinthians about thirty-six years after those of St. Paul, and upon a similar occasion of schisms in their Church. It appears that the Church of Corinth applied to that of Rome for advice; and the main design of Clement is to dissuade the Corinthians from emulation on religious subjects, and to exhort them to submit in peace and unity to their appointed spiritual guides, because such is the will of God. Some passages throw light upon the particular occasion of these divisions: and by general expressions we learn, that they arose from the self-conceit of a few unauthorized persons, who obtruded themselves into ministerial functions; and, by an ostentatious display of zeal, kindled strifes, and seduced the people, without cause, from their ecclesiastical alle-

support the doctrine of the Trinity, by Bishop Bull, Dr. Burgh, and Bishop Horsley. It is acknowledged that they are compositions of inferior value.

giance. The author points out the mischiefs of this kind of emulation, which allows so much indulgence to private liberty, and gives to every man a pretext for following the inclination of his irregular desires. He exhorts the Corinthians to call to mind the scriptural doctrine of repentance, to turn to God with feelings of contrition and humility, and to shew the sincerity of their religious persuasion by their obedience. "Christ," he says, "is
" theirs who are humble, and who do not
" exalt themselves over his flock. The Sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus
" Christ, came not in tumult of pride and
" ostentation, though he could have done so;
" but with humility, as the Holy Ghost spake
" concerning him^m." By the same test the Fathersⁿ under the old covenant were tried, and proved their faith by living in brotherly kindness and charity towards their neighbours, and with submissive resignation to the divine will. Clement adds, that even the natural worldⁿ, and the different works of creation, fulfilling continually in peace, order, and harmony the original dispositions of their almighty Creator, afford to man a lesson of obedience and cheerful submission to the appointments of God. He reminds them^o of the pure faith

^m Sect. 16.ⁿ Sect. 17. to 21.^o Sect. 23. to 37.

they had embraced, and their hope in the Resurrection, of which God “made our Lord
“Jesus Christ the first-fruits, raising him from
“the dead:” and he entreats them not to frustrate these gracious privileges, and forfeit eternal life, by sinful acts of disobedience. He observes, that peace, order, and unity in the Church, are God’s appointment; and “that
“he has ordained both where, and by what
“persons, religious services and offerings are to
“be performed in an acceptable manner. The
“Apostles preached to us from our Lord Jesus
“Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Both missions
“were in order, according to the will of God.
“Assured of the resurrection of our Lord, convinced by faith in the word of God, with
“the fulness of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles
“went abroad, preaching The kingdom of
“God is at hand. And the first-fruits of
“conversion, in villages and cities, they appointed to be Ministers and Bishops over
“such as should believe, having first proved
“them by the Spirit. They knew, through
“our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions
“would arise concerning the Ministry; and
“therefore they both ordained persons themselves, and directed that there should be
“a succession of approved Ministers.” “Ye

“ are contentious, brethren, and zealous for
 “ things that belong not to salvation. Search
 “ the Scriptures, the true word of the Holy
 “ Spirit: there you will find that good men
 “ were persecuted indeed, but always by the
 “ wicked and unjust. Let us therefore join
 “ ourselves to the innocent and righteous,
 “ for such are the elect of God. Why are
 “ there strifes, angers, divisions, wars, schisms
 “ among you? Have we not all one God
 “ and one Christ? Is not one Spirit of grace
 “ poured out upon us all? It is a shame, a
 “ flagrant shame, that the ancient established
 “ Church of Corinth should, by one or two
 “ persons, be led into a sedition against its
 “ Pastors^r.”

Such is the general purport of this Apostolical Father's epistle: and the following passages will convey his thoughts on the two great points of redemption and sanctification. “ Let
 “ us look steadfastly at the blood of Christ,
 “ considering how precious it is in the sight
 “ of God; and, being shed for our salvation,
 “ it has obtained the grace of repentance
 “ for all the world^s.” Speaking of the Old Testament Fathers, he adds: “ All these were

^r Sect. 45.

^s Ατενισωμεν εις το αιμα τη Χριστη, και ιδωμεν ως εστιν τιμιον τη Θεω αιμα αυτη, οτι δια την ημετεραν σωτηριαν εκχυθεν, παντι τη κοσμω μετανοιας χαριν υπηνεγκεν. sect. vii.

“ magnified and honoured, not through them-
“ selves, not through their own works, not
“ through the righteous deeds which they
“ performed, but through God’s will. And
“ we also by his will being called in Christ
“ Jesus, are justified not by ourselves, or by
“ our own wisdom, or understanding, or god-
“ liness, or by the works which we have
“ wrought in holiness of heart, but by faith ;
“ by which the Almighty hath justified all
“ who are or have been justified from the
“ beginning. But what then, shall we neg-
“ lect good works? Does it hence follow
“ that we should leave the law of loving
“ obedience? God forbid. Let us rather haf-
“ ten with all earnestness of mind to every
“ good work : for the Lord himself rejoices
“ in his works^t.”

Sometimes the warmth of his cordial piety
breaks forth in a kind of transport. “ How
“ blessed, how amazing, beloved, the gifts of
“ God! Life in immortality, splendour in righ-
“ teousness, truth in liberty, faith in assur-
“ ance, sobriety in holiness. And thus far
“ in this life we know experimentally. What
“ therefore must those things be which he
“ has prepared for them that wait for him?
“ And how, beloved, shall we attain this re-

^t Sect. 32, 33,

“ward? By establishing our hearts in faith
“towards God, and by seeking to do his
“will in all things with truth and earnestness.
“Thus, beloved, shall we find our salvation,
“even Jesus Christ, the High-priest of our
“offerings, and helper of our weakness.”

“He that has love in Christ, let him keep
“Christ’s commandments. By charity were
“all the elect of God made perfect: with-
“out it nothing is pleasing and acceptable
“in the sight of God. Through charity and
“divine love, the Lord joined us to himself,
“and gave his own blood for us by the will
“of God*.”

The tone of this composition is that of mild persuasion, very far from any authoritative language; though it is to be observed the author was Bishop of Rome, at the time of writing it. He exhorts the Corinthians to unity among themselves, and subjection to their own pastors: but no expression can be construed to mean that St. Clement possessed power over them. He does not even write in his own name; but the title of the Epistle is, “From the Church at Rome
“to the Church at Corinth.”

The writings of Ignatius display a more ardent temper. This Father was Bishop of Antioch in Syria, and was there admitted

* Sect. 35.

* Sect. 48.

to a conference with the Emperor Trajan, who condemned him to be carried to Rome, and thrown to wild beasts for the entertainment of the people. The alleged reason for this sentence was, that Ignatius called himself Theophorus, and confessed that he carried within himself him that was crucified: the real causes of the persecution of Christians by the Roman Government, and of the hatred which the Roman people bore them, may be traced to the conscientious opposition which Christians made to the prevailing superstitions, and which, in the provinces particularly, had alienated many of the native inhabitants from established idolatries.

The courageous successor of the Apostles received his sentence, not merely with firmness, but with alacrity and joy. Proceeding to Rome under an armed escort, he stopped at Smyrna, where he enjoyed the gratification of a happy meeting with Polycarp, Bishop of the place, his old friend and fellow-disciple under the Apostle John. He was also attended by the Bishops and Clergy of the neighbouring Churches, in token of honour and af-

7 See "the Acts" of Ignatius, a primitive piece of martyrology, found and first published by Abp. Usher in 1647. The result of the learned controversy respecting the writings of Ignatius seems to be, that the seven smaller Epistles are genuine.

fection; for the undaunted spirit of Ignatius wanted not consolation.

—Labantes consilio Patres
Firmavit auctor;—
Interque mœrentes amicos
Egregius properavit Exul:
Atqui sciebat quæ fibi barbarus
Tortor pararet.

At Smyrna he wrote four Epistles, and three more afterwards at Troas, chiefly addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor. This is his exordium to the Mother-Church: "Ignatius, "who is also called Theophorus, to the "worthily happy Church in Ephesus of Asia, "blessed in the majesty and fulness of God "the Father, predestinated before the world "to be perpetually permanent in glory, im- "movable, united and elect in the genuine "suffering for the truth, by the will of "the Father, and of Jesus Christ our God, "much joy in Jesus Christ, and in his spot- "less grace." The Author begins with thank- ing the Ephesians for sending to him their Bishop Onesimus, whose character in Chris- tian charity he deems inexpressible, and other Ministers, and exhorts them to unity and subjection to their Bishop and Presbytery. His own humility is at the same time con- spicuous: "I do not," says he, "dictate to "you, as if I were a person of any conse- "quence: for though I am bound for his

“ name, I am not yet perfect in Christ Jesus. “ But now I begin to learn, and I speak to “ you as my fellow-disciples.” He continues his advice to them of submission to their ecclesiastical superiors; “ Let no man deceive “ himself; if a man be not within the Altar, “ he is deprived of the bread of God. If “ the prayer of one or two has so much “ strength, how much more that of the Bishop and of the whole Church? He who “ separates from it, is proud and condemns “ himself: for it is written, God resisteth the “ proud. Let us study therefore obedience “ to the Bishop, that we may be subject to “ God. And the more silent and gentle any “ one observes his Bishop to be, the more “ on that account should he reverence him. “ Every one to whom the Master commits the “ stewardship, should be received as the Master “ himself^z.” He exhorts them, to shun false teachers, to pray without ceasing for other men: for there is hope of repentance in them that they may attain unto God, and finally to live in unity, in faith and in charity, and to shew the truth of their profession by their works.

Ignatius continually expresses his eager and longing desire of martyrdom, and repeats the most earnest injunctions to ecclesiastical subordination. All his epistles turn upon the

^z Sect. 4, 5, 6.

same topics, and contain detached didactic sentences, expressed certainly in a tumid Asiatic style, but full of true Christian devotion, illustrated in the purest precepts. In the present age, in which no bounds seem to be set to claims of liberty of conscience, it is deserving of the most serious consideration among Christians, that the chief topic insisted upon by the two Apostolical Fathers, Clement and Ignatius, is Church Union; and the great object of their writings is to dissuade men from separating, for slight pretences, from their lawful Pastors. We do not endeavour to persuade any to act so as to do violence to their consciences; but we wish to shew that it is the will of God that private opinion should on many occasions give way; and that individuals, instead of arrogating a continual right of choosing and judging for themselves, should consider, that without some submission, there can, in great societies, be no union and concord, which are most acceptable in God's sight.

“Without the Bishops and Presbyters,” says Ignatius, “there is no Church. He that is within the Altar is pure: but he that is without, that is, who does any thing without the Bishops, and Presbyters and Deacons, is not pure in his conscience^a.”

^a Ad Trallicenses, sect. 3, 7.

Throughout these Epistles are scattered cautions against the Docetæ, who taught that Jesus Christ was a phantom, and suffered only in appearance. Ignatius asserts the real humanity and divinity of our Redeemer: "There is one Physician, both of the flesh
 " and of the spirit, made and not made,
 " God incarnate, true life in death, both of
 " Mary and of God; even Jesus Christ our
 " Lord^b." His testimony is not wanting concerning the evidences of the Holy Ghost; for after exhorting the Ephesians to public devotion, to unity and peace, he adds; "Of
 " all which nothing is hid from you, if ye
 " have perfect faith and charity in Jesus
 " Christ, which are the beginning and end
 " of life. For the beginning is faith, and
 " the end charity. The union of these two
 " is of God; and from them flow all things
 " that constitute the beauty of holiness. Faith

^b Ad Ephes. sect. 7. Εἰς ἰατρος εἰν, σαρκικος τε και πνευματικος, γεννητος και αγεννητος, εν σαρκι γενομενος Θεος. Jesus Christ is called God in the title to this Epistle: and the Author bids his friend Polycarp farewell εν Θεω ἡμων Ιησου Χριστω. Ad Polycarp. sect. 8. At his death he prayed to the Son of God for the Churches, παρακαλεσας τον υιον τε Θεου ὑπερ των εκκλησιων. Martyr. St. Ignat. sect. 6. And in the Epistle to the Magnesians, sect. 13. he affirms, that the Apostles were subject "to Christ, and "to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost."

“ sins not; charity hates not. As the tree
 “ is known by its fruits, so they who profess
 “ and call themselves Christians, are known
 “ by their actions^c.” Were there any other
 sure criterion of divine inspiration, it might
 be expected that a person, under the circum-
 stances in which Ignatius was placed, and
 possessing as he did a temper of lively sensi-
 bility, should express strong feelings of im-
 mediate spiritual influence: but he is free
 from all weaknesses of this kind; and instead
 of a confident persuasion of his being elected,
 or accepted to salvation, humility fills his
 mind. “ I understand,” he says, “ many things
 “ in God, but I refrain myself lest I should
 “ perish in my boasting. For now I ought
 “ the more to fear—desiring, as I do, to suffer,
 “ but doubting my own unworthiness^d.”

Of the same tenor is this exhortation to
 his friend Polycarp, who had been a fellow-
 disciple with him, under the Apostle John,
 and who was then Bishop of Smyrna. “ Be
 “ wise as a serpent, but harmless as a dove.
 “ The times demand thee as a pilot is wanted
 “ in a storm, and thy prayers will be like a
 “ haven to a tempest-tossed ship. Be sober-
 “ minded as the soldier of God: the crown
 “ proposed to thee is eternal life. Stand firm

^c Sect. 14.^d Ad Trall. Sect. 4.

“and immoveable, as an anvil, when it is
 “beaten upon. It is the part of a brave
 “combatant, after wounds, to conquer. But
 “especially we ought to endure all things
 “for God’s sake, that he may bear with us.
 “Improve in diligence daily: consider the
 “times; and expect him, who is above all
 “time, eternal, invisible, though for our sakes
 “he became visible; impalpable and im-
 “passible, yet for us subjected to sufferings,
 “enduring all things for our salvation^e.”

The only production of the Apostolical Fathers that remains yet to be considered, is a short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians; in which the following passages seem apposite to our design. “By grace ye are
 “saved; not by works, but by the will of
 “God, through Jesus Christ.” He admonishes them to flee evil desires, particularly covetousness^f, and to follow after Christian
 “faith, hope, and charity; which things if
 “a man has, he has fulfilled the law of holi-
 “ness.” The Presbyters he recommends “not
 “easily to believe accusations, nor to be se-

^e Ad Polycarp, sect. 2, 3.

^f A Presbyter, named Valens, and his wife, had, it seems, offended in this way. Another evidence of the marriage of the Clergy is an expression of Clement, sect. 21. “Let us direct our wives (*τας γυναικας ημων*) to
 “goodness.”

“were in judgment, knowing that we are
 “all debtors in point of sin.” Polycarp long
 survived the martyrdom of his friend Ignatius,
 and was burnt for the truth at Smyrna, in
 a very advanced age, under the Emperor
 Marcus Antoninus, A. D. 167. A relation¹ of
 his sufferings, and triumphant resolution, is
 among the precious remains of antiquity,
 and becomes doubly interesting to members
 of that Church, which cherishes a remem-
 brance of parallel constancy under parallel
 circumstances, in the example of her sons
 the venerable Latimer and Ridley.

A brief review of those circumstances in
 which the apostolical Fathers were placed,
 will with some propriety conclude an ac-
 count of their writings; and at the same
 time afford a farther illustration of the faith
 and practice of primitive times. The world
 was not their friend, nor the world’s law;
 persons both of the highest and lowest rank
 agreed in oppressing the followers of Christ;

¹ It is faithfully and beautifully rendered by Mr.
 Milner, vol. i. p. 209. There is extant a homily of
 St. Chrysostom’s, preached on the anniversary of St.
 Ignatius’s martyrdom. Compared with the earliest
 accounts of martyrdoms, it shews to what extent a
 superstitious veneration for these holy men and their
 relics had proceeded in the course of three hundred
 years.

and the imperial mandate delivers them over to a cruel death, as it is expressed, "for the "entertainment of the people." The profound historian, the mild philosopher, the polite scholar, viewing the popular superstitions with complacent liberality, or, to speak more truly, with indifference, lose their characteristic qualities on the subject of Christianity, and use concerning it common terms of detestation and abhorrence. The conversion of barbarous nations may be assisted by the light, however faint, of natural religion, and by the facility with which impressions are made upon ignorant and unoccupied minds: but the Gospel was planted among the most civilized, most powerful, and proudest nation in the world, and encountered their inveterate prejudices, sanctioned by a regular code of superstition, interwoven with their laws and customs in the daily intercourse of life, and adorned by the finest talents with the elegance of poetical fancy. It encountered a still stronger enemy, the enemy within, those sinful propensities of human passions, which the Roman mythology fostered, and upon which it was, in many instances, even established.

The early Christians possessed apparently no means for surmounting the accumulated obstacles presented by these external circum-

stances: they were not men of extraordinary abilities and attainments, who by brilliant powers of imagination, or persuasive eloquence, could command and captivate mankind, and bend the wills of others to their purpose. They held forth no temporal prospects, which could gratify discontented and turbulent spirits; no secret incentives to ambition and worldly interest. The dream of earthly grandeur in the scheme of redemption, at the time we are considering, had passed away; and all Christians must have been aware that, with their profession of faith, they embraced a life of precarious and scanty subsistence, which through labour and suffering might lead to a painful death, uncheered by popular applause, or the hope of posthumous reputation. In the writings of the apostolical Fathers, there is no mention of miraculous powers, such as enabled the immediate successors of our Lord to convert men by "signs and wonders," which gave an irresistible confirmation to their ministry. A miracle was indeed effected by the operation of God's Spirit influencing the hearts of men, so that, "like seed that should spring and grow up we know not how," the Gospel increased and flourished, notwithstanding the apparently inadequate means of removing the obstacles to its propagation.

“The victory which overcame the world
 “was the faith of the first Christians: God
 “was the strength (rock) of their hearts.”
 “I know that thy mind towards God,” says
 Ignatius, writing to Polycarp, “is fixed, as
 “on an immoveable rock:” and again, “A
 “Christian is not a work of opinion, but
 “of real greatness of spirit.”

He is deemed a man of principle, who settles in his mind certain fixed rules of conduct, that may carry him with consistency through the vicissitudes of life, and cause his actions, instead of wavering with the effect of momentary impulses, according to caprice, humour, or varying circumstances, or as the tyranny of interest and passion directs, to flow uniformly from the strength of his preconceived opinions. It is evident that where this principle of equanimity is strongest and most pure, there will the best effects be produced: and it cannot have full force, unless it be founded on the hope of a future life.

Some modern metaphysicians^o, in analyzing the moral sense or principle of virtue, have unfortunately shut their eyes to the light of Christianity; and, imitating heathen philosophers of old, have confined their views

^m Psalm lxxiii. 26.

ⁿ Ad Rom. sect. 3.

^o Mr. Hume; Dr. Adam Smith.

to this life, and framed a rule of right and wrong, which they seem to think sufficient for practical purposes, out of the nature and condition of man in this present state, without regard to futurity. From human understanding or from human feelings, from reason or from sentiment, or from a mixture of both, they have attempted to deduce motives of conduct, applicable to all situations, which should ensure the happiness of individuals and of society. We are to do "what is useful to ourselves, what is useful to others; what is agreeable to ourselves, what is agreeable to others:" that a laudable motive, and sufficient spur to action may not be wanting, we are instructed to cultivate sympathy and the benevolent affections: and in order to correct the scale of justice by the hand of impartiality, we are, by supposition, to introduce the decision of an unbiassed spectator upon our actions. All which, if rightly understood, seems to be expressed with greater perspicuity in that precept, established both by the natural and revealed law of God, "of doing to others, as we would they should do unto us."

A foreign school of morality, rejecting all religious sanctions, founds its ethics upon the duties of men and citizens, upon some

uncertain principle of general expediency. A late celebrated writer^p of our own country teaches, that "whatever is expedient is right;" and the motive proposed by him is the good pleasure of God, who wills that we should always do what is upon the whole expedient for the general welfare, or conducive to the happiness of mankind at large. Had the eternal happiness of mankind been comprehended in this system, in language clear, and decisive, and explanatory of its paramount importance, the proposition of expediency would not have been exposed to the scruples and objections, which now suggest themselves against it. For it is a maxim of true piety, that sin was never committed, but a less good was preferred to a greater, momentary to lasting happiness.

The radical defect of all systems of morality of human invention is, that they are, either designedly, or at least in the explanation of them, limited by the concerns of this life. And we therefore contend, that they present no principles sufficiently strong, or sufficiently pure, to counteract that bias, with which our nature constantly inclines to evil. When it is considered how few men have judgment to discern objects of

^p Dr. Paley.

magnitude or at a distance, but that we are all keen-sighted in our own affairs; how few are able to estimate remote and contingent benefits, and that immediate and private interest weighs with most men above general good and public utility; an obvious danger is, that these systems would quickly degenerate into a matter of worldly prudence, forming a cloak for sordid narrow selfishness; and that, from the predominance of a contracted habit of thinking, virtue would become a name for convenience. If expediency were a motive of purity, yet is it not strong enough to prevent the ascendancy of some more powerful impulses; as for example honour, and love of fame, "that last infirmity of noble mind." These motives, however mixed, animate men to great and extraordinary enterprises and exertions, far beyond the scope of those who have in view only a temporary interest; and however erroneously directed, are impulses of a soul longing for immortality. To spirits touched with this fire, the calculations of utility will appear cold and despicable. "Of temporal blessings, the greatest is Reputation, the least Riches^a;" but human applause, though one of the strongest incen-

^a Hooker.

tives to action, is a very unsafe criterion of merit and real worth.

Lastly, if the philosopher presents no religious creed to the people, they will certainly find one for themselves; and unless blessed with the revealed word of God, must yield to the influence of superstition, before which his fine-spun speculations will be driven away, as bubbles by the wind. Fana-ticism, while it produces pernicious effects on human happiness, is at the same time a motive so forcible and impetuous, that no antidote can counteract it, but the superior efficacy of genuine and sincere religion.

This divine principle is the parent of all great and good, all noble and useful actions, and leads to the recompense of eternal reward promised by our Redeemer to his faithful servants. This enabled the apostolical Fathers to overcome the world; by this they were induced to sell their goods and give them to the poor, to renounce pleasures, honours, and distinctions, for a life of labour and obscurity, to preach the Gospel through evil report and good report, and to confess their Saviour Christ in persecution, in bondage, and in death, resolutely, cheerfully, triumphantly. They shewed their faith by their works, the strength and goodness of the principle by its effects.

The same energy of faith and trust in God produced the same distinguished practical consequences in the first Fathers of our reformed English Church. And thus are we doubly engaged to follow the examples of those who have walked in the good way before us.

This principle, in fine, gives life to the members of that true Church of Christ, against which we have a promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail. And with regard to those who are of this number, “the firmament of heaven may dissolve, and “the pillars of the earth be broken, the sun “may withdraw his light, and the stars their “shining;” but we are persuaded that nothing shall make a separation between them and their God, neither angels nor principalities, nor powers, nor life, nor death, nor things present nor things to come.

SERMON III.

1 PETER iii. 15.

Be ready always to give an answer to every one that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you.

FAITH, or the principle of true Religion, grounded on the divine revelation in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, has erroneously been deemed incompatible with reason, by persons of two very different descriptions, who agree only on this one point, and deduce, from quite opposite premises, the same conclusion. One party exercising, as it is termed, the right of thinking freely for themselves, reject all supernatural communications of knowledge as an imposition upon their understandings; and thus either living without God in the world, or resting satisfied with impressions of natural religion, they discern no difference between real inspiration and its counterfeits: in their presumptuous indifference and hardened prejudices, they treat all pretensions to divine

revelation as equally fictitious, proper objects of vulgar credulity, crafty devices to sway weak timid minds, but worthy only of ridicule or compassion from the wise. They grant something in appearance to religion, in truth nothing: like ^aEpicurus of old, they confess a God, to avoid popular odium, in words, but not in fact; because they neither allow his providence here, nor the distributions of his justice and mercy in a future state. A wholesome correction to this pride of reasoning is the consideration, that our researches into the appearances of the natural world are continually baffled: and men of greatest penetration in the depths of knowledge and science have learned humility, from experiencing how inadequate their faculties were to comprehend perfectly the least of the wonders of creation.

Other persons, rising with abhorrence from unbelief, and perceiving that it is often connected with a claim to superior abilities, become disgusted even with the name of rational religion, and suppose that it includes of course an irreverence for revelation. Yet man is distinguished from other animals by his reasonable understanding: and as it is to be believed that God, who endowed

^a Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i.

him with this pre-eminent faculty, would accommodate to it the revelations of his will; accordingly they only who enjoy reason are found capable of religion. Certainly neither reason nor any other human endowment can avail, without the efficiency of God's good grace, which employs reason as a principal instrument to promote divine purposes. And to discard the powers of understanding from the province of religion is an act so extravagant, that it can only be compared to an infatuation, which should cause the husbandman to throw aside his plough, and the mariner his compass, because scientific skill cannot temper the seasons, nor control the winds and seas.

The Infidel and the Fanatic, by the flagrancy of their opposite errors, corroborate each other in mutual prejudices. Though enthusiasm, which is piety undirected by reason, be an extreme infinitely preferable to Atheism, yet is it an extreme far distant from true religion. From this error, I hope, in the present discourse, to shew that the primitive Christian Fathers were free, and that so far from prostrating the understanding in blind credulity, they exercised it to the best and most excellent purpose, in examining and defending the truths of the Gospel; and were always ready, in compli-

ance with the Apostolic precept, to give to every one that asked a reason, a reasonable defence, *προς απολογιαν λογον*, of the hope that was in them.

Hitherto our inquiries have been confined to such writings in the primitive Church, as were by their authors addressed to Christians: but our prospect now opens upon a wider field. About the middle of the second century flourished Justin Martyr, who, as he himself relates, was born in Palestine of Gentile parents. In early youth he travelled into Egypt for the improvement of his mind in knowledge; and at Alexandria addicted himself successively to the different schools of philosophy, under Stoic, Pythagorean, Peripatetic, and Platonic teachers. He found, to his disappointment, that none of them could instruct him satisfactorily in the nature of God, which was the chief object of his researches: but, being by an extraordinary communication directed to the study of the Jewish Prophets and of Christianity^b, he happily discovered that fountain

^b When I was a Platonist myself, says Justin, I could not but admire the intrepidity of Christians in meeting death; and said within myself, these people cannot be lovers of sin and riotous living. Their reward must be in another life. Yet the malice of the devil has always instigated the persecution of good men, and now prevails

of religious truth, which he had long fought in vain; and acknowledged "the divine Scriptures to be the only sure and useful philosophy." Justin seems to have been supernaturally directed to the study of Scripture; which effected in him a rational conversion. From no capricious or enthusiastic motives, but in the deliberate exercise of his best judgment, after much investigation of various theological systems, he embraced Christianity, regardless of his interest and reputation in the world. His understanding and his heart were equally convinced and touched: and the remainder of his life corresponded to this beginning; for his three compositions now remaining, addressed to the Gentiles, to the Roman Emperors, and to the Jews, are all of them argumentative apologies for Christianity. While I endeavour to give a succinct account of these writings, it will be my business, without farther remark, to select particular passages, which

against us Christians. But we regard not these evils, having a good conscience towards God, the searcher of hearts. And we write these things that our faith and practice may be examined and known: they will appear to be, not pernicious, but pure and far superior to all human wisdom. Second (erroneously entitled, the first) Apology.

* Dial. with Trypho the Jew.

treat of man's redemption from sin, and the true proofs of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

In his "Exhortation to the Greeks or Gentiles," which was probably written soon after his conversion, Justin contrasts the foolishness and falsehood of their religion with Christian truth. After intimating the absurdities of their poetical mythology, he exposes, at some length, the errors and contradictions of their most renowned philosophers. Even Plato and Aristotle, their great masters of virtue, treating of the Deity, and the nature of the human soul, appear to be extremely in the dark on these most important subjects. Plato indeed taught that the rational soul is immortal; but Aristotle held a contrary notion: and no sensible man can believe that truth resides where there is such discordance of opinion. Our Author exhorts the Greeks to forsake these erroneous guides, and to "turn to Moses and the Jewish Prophets, whose writings are confessedly of greater antiquity than any Grecian records; and who, by the gift of divine inspiration, have in a continued series delivered to mankind the same doctrine of revelation, a doctrine that cannot be understood by those who depend solely on the light of human science."

Justin asserts, that from the Jewish Scriptures the Heathen poets and philosophers borrowed many thoughts, and suppressed the originals, from fear of popular malice. He refers to the prophecies concerning Jesus Christ, who "being inseparable from the Father in power, yet took upon him the form of a man, that he might restore true religion, and abolish the worship of false gods." Finally, he declares that he left the religion of the Greeks, because there was nothing in it holy: he expostulates, in glowing language, on the subjects of the vices of their divinities, and the consequent impurity of heathen morals. "How can you, he asks, "being a worshipper of Jupiter and Venus, blame your son for rebellion, or your wife for incontinence? O submit yourselves to the dictates of incomparable wisdom, and of an immortal King, who regards not strength, nor beauty, nor the lofty spirit of noble birth, but a pure heart confirmed in holiness. The uniform habit of the followers of the Gospel is goodness; and its trumpet a note of peace to the perturbed soul. Its blessed discipline quenches and allays the passions, those fires of the mind: and thus forms, not indeed poets or philosophers, or powerful orators, but makes men immortal and like to God."

The style of this author is perspicuous and manly, though it may suffer in a comparison with the classical elegance of those compositions, the substance of which he justly condemns. His sentiments are now familiar to our ears; but if we transport ourselves in imagination back to the age in which he lived, we shall readily acknowledge, that very superior courage and intelligence were necessary to maintain them in the second century.

After the decease of the Emperor Trajan, the Christians enjoyed some respite from persecution, under his successor Adrian^d: but the laws still left an opening for the infliction of the severest penalties, which could result from popular obloquy and hatred. For the purpose of justifying the suffering Christians, and of softening the malice of the heathen world, Justin presented an apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Adrian in the Imperial throne, A. D. 137.

The beginning of this defence bears an allusion to the Imperial titles of Antoninus and his adopted sons, with an intimation that those dignified personages who bear the

^d The Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, addressed to this Emperor, only remain in very scanty fragments.

names of Pious, Philosophers, Lovers of Justice and Learning, should willingly embrace truth for its own sake, and discard errors, however sanctioned by custom. The author then entreats, with much earnestness, that Christians be examined concerning their lives and actions, and exposes the injustice of condemning them to torture, on account of their name only and profession: while if the accused deny Christ, they are released without farther examination.

He thus continues: "We are called Atheists, and truly we believe not in your false gods; but being taught by the word of God, who became man, namely Jesus Christ, we acknowledge the true God, the Father of justice and purity, and of all virtues, who is free from any mixture of evil. Him, together with the Son and Holy Spirit, we reverence and adore with the worship of truth and reason^c."

"We cannot worship the images of false gods, with victims and garlands: for we believe these to be the invention of devils, and injurious to the ineffable glory of God's person, who is most pleased with those

^c ἔχουσιν τε (Θεόν) καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, πνεῦμα τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθεῖα τιμῶμεν. Sect. 7.

“ among men, who most resemble his at-
“ tributes of wisdom, and justice, and bene-
“ ficence, and will elect them to reign with
“ him for ever, in a state inaccessible to cor-
“ ruption and suffering. That purity which
“ human laws cannot effect, the divine word
“ will produce, unless corrupt nature yield
“ to the various temptations of the devil.
“ Thus we are, above all others, your coad-
“ jutors in preserving public tranquillity ; be-
“ cause we maintain that no man, whether
“ wicked or virtuous, escapes God’s eye ;
“ who will render to every man eternal
“ punishment, or eternal happiness, accord-
“ ing to his works^f.”

Our author proceeds to enlarge farther in defence of Gospel truth, and the practice of its followers. “ Instead of blood and liba-
“ tions and incense, we offer,” he says, “ to
“ God the rational service of prayers and
“ praises, and solemn hymns, in acknow-
“ ledgment of our creation and preservation
“ in this life, and our hope of a happy re-
“ surrection through faith. And our teacher
“ was Jesus Christ, the same who was cru-
“ cified under Pontius Pilate. Him, the Son
“ of the true and living God, we venerate
“ in the second place, and the prophetic Spi-

^f Sect. 10, 12.

“ rit in the third. Being followers of the
 “ one unoriginated God, through his Son,
 “ we who were profligates, now live soberly,
 “ and consecrate ourselves to God: having
 “ loved wealth above all things, we now
 “ have our possessions in common, and dis-
 “ tribute to the necessitous: having hated
 “ and even destroyed others, and avoided the
 “ exercise of common hospitality towards
 “ persons of a different tribe, now since the
 “ appearance of Christ we pray for our ene-
 “ mies and persecutors.”

“ Universal love, charity, meekness and pa-
 “ tience, these are our Master’s rules. And
 “ by these gentle arts of persuasion many
 “ have been converted from violence and
 “ wrong, perceiving in their Christian neigh-
 “ bours a persevering goodness, and in their
 “ Christian fellow-travellers a patience of
 “ injuries, and honesty and fidelity in their
 “ dealings.”

Thus did the early Christians rest their
 defence upon the solid test of the purity of
 their actions: they poignantly felt and firmly
 refuted the charge of culpability, and were
 anxious to clear their integrity from imputed
 stains; but they shewed no reluctance to die
 for that faith, which they professed with a re-

solution as unalterable by circumstances, as it was undebased by visionary transports, or any bitterness of recrimination upon their adversaries.

In the 31st Section our author traces the cause of popular hatred: "Because," he says, "we truly affirm that Jesus Christ alone "is properly the Son of God, as being the "Logos, and first-begotten, and power of "God, who by the counsel of his will was "made man, and taught these doctrines for "the conversion and restoration of mankind; "therefore have evil spirits prevailed to invent wicked falsehoods against Christians, "in order to defeat the purpose of his coming."

In the next place the absurd calumnies propagated against Christians are mentioned and obviated: for instance, the unfounded reports of their putting out the lights in their meetings, for the purpose of promiscuous licentiousness, and of eating human flesh.

In the latter part of this Apology, Justin employs himself in proving that Christianity is no new doctrine, but that the incarnation of the Messiah by means of a Virgin, his sufferings, and second advent, are all foretold in various parts of the Jewish Scriptures. He also insists in strong terms upon the doctrines of the resurrection, the day of judg-

ment, and eternal rewards and punishments, and endeavours to awaken the minds of the august persons he addresses to a sense of these most important truths. The following sentence may serve as a summary of his opinions on the subject of the person of Christ. The Jews suppose that God the Father conversed with Moses and holy men of old; whereas the divine communications were in reality made by the Son, “who ^hbeing the Logos
 “first-begotten of God, is indeed God. To
 “Moses and the Prophets he formerly ap-
 “peared in the form of fire or some angelic
 “image: but now in the times of your im-
 “perial government, being born, as we have
 “said, a man of a virgin, according to the
 “will of the Father, for the salvation of
 “those who believe in him, he endured to
 “become of no reputation, and to suffer; that
 “by his death and resurrection he might con-
 “quer death.”

Some passages refer to the prescience of the Deity, as involving predestination: and the Apologist thinks it necessary to obviate the inference, that because things are predicted, they therefore take place by necessity

^h Ὁς (υἱός) και λογος πρωτοτοκος ων τῷ Θεῷ, και Θεος ὑπαρχει. Sect. 83.

ⁱ Ἐν ἰδεᾷ πυρος φανεις, ποτε δε εν Εἰκονι αἰσωμάτων: which last word the learned Grabe considers to mean, *angels*.

of fate or destiny. He states, that unless men are at liberty to choose good or evil, they are not accountable for their actions, and there can be neither virtue nor vice. "This indeed we say," he continues, "is inevitable destiny, that those who choose good shall receive a reward of honour, and that retribution awaits all who do otherwise. For God has not made men like beasts or trees, but with the power of election, and subject to the award of justice. The holy prophetic Spirit has taught us this truth, saying by the mouth of Moses, 'Behold, good and evil, life and death are before you: choose life^k.'" The Apology concludes with a plain statement of the manners and practices of Christians, of their baptizing new converts, and of their assembling to partake the Eucharist. "In all our oblations," these are the author's words, "we bless the Creator of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit. And upon the day called Sunday, all meet together in one place, when the writings^l of the Apostles and Prophets are read, as time serves. When the reader has ceased,

^k Sect. 55.

^l Απομνημονευματα των Αποστολων, συγγραμματα των προφητων.

“ the Pastor (*πρεσβυς*) makes a discourse for the
 “ purpose of edifying the people, and ani-
 “ mating them to the practice of such ex-
 “ cellent things. At the conclusion we all
 “ rise up and pray : and the bread and wine
 “ and water are carried round, accompanied
 “ with fervent prayer and thanksgiving by
 “ the Minister. And moreover contributions
 “ are deposited with him, and he relieves from
 “ this fund of voluntary charity orphans and
 “ widows, the needy, the sick, captives and
 “ strangers ; and in a word all who are in
 “ want.”

Justin has been accused of Platonizing on
 the subject of the Logos, and of treating the
 character of eminent Heathens with too fa-
 vourable indulgence. Yet the soundness of his
 doctrines on essential points is manifest : and
 justice will acknowledge, that the virtues of
 Pagans, whether mild or severe, must have
 proceeded from the Fountain of all good-
 ness, who partially imprinted on their hearts
 those principles of truth, which are delivered
 to us in the word of God, as axioms of our
 religion.

Eusebius relates^m, that Justin, travelling, like
 many Christians of that age, to make or con-
 firm converts, had at Ephesus a conference

^m Lib. iv. cap. 11.

with one Trypho a Jew; so that we may conclude the dialogue, which remains under that title, to be the substance of a real disputation. As in his former treatise it was the Author's purpose to expose the pernicious doctrines of Pagan theology, and to refute the calumnies of the enemies of Christianity; he here directs a similar train of argument against Judaism. He begins by declaring the God of the Jews and the God of the Christians to be the same, and that the new covenant was promised in the old. He warns the people of Israel that their ceremonial observances are no longer acceptable to the Supreme Being; that they must put away their evil passions and evil habits; and that sin is not expiated by the blood of bulls and of goats, but by the blood of Christⁿ. Religion now consists in faith in the Atonement, and in purity of heart and manners.

Our Author then proceeds to quote against the Jews their own Scriptures at great length. He reminds them of the judgments their nation had suffered since the crucifixion of Jesus. Though the argument is not conducted in a close and methodical manner, yet the substance is so weighty, that little probably

ⁿ Μηκετι αίμασι τραγων και προβατων καθαριζομενες, αλλα πισει δια τη αίματος τη Χρισυ. Editio Colonix 1686. p. 229. Χρισον βοηθον και λυτρωτην. p. 247.

could be added to this copious refutation of the Jews.

In some part of Voltaire's writings it is asserted, that Justin Martyr was no believer in the divinity of Jesus Christ; and the following sentence from the treatise we are now considering is brought to support the assertion: "There are amongst us, who confess Christ, yet affirm that he was a man of human race^o." Here the quotation ends, but the original passage continues thus; "With these I do not agree, and they are few in number." This may serve as a specimen of the unfairness of that criticism, which would ascribe Unitarianism to the primitive creed. The main design of this elaborate composition is to bring together a chain of evidence from Scripture, of the pre-existence of Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, that he is the same whom the Holy Spirit sometimes calls the Son, or Angel or Wisdom of God, who is also called God, and is God and Lord, and appeared and conversed with the Patriarchs. "We therefore conclude," says Justin, "that the same person is God and Christ", "and is to be adored." He uses many expressions to the same purport, that "salvation is by the blood of Christ^a;" that "he is

^o P. 267.

Ρ Προσκυνητος εστι και Θεος και Χριστος.

^a Δι' αϊματος τε Χριστου γεννησενθαι σωτηριαν τω γενει ανθρωπων. p. 345.

“ very God, the Son of the only uncreated “ God,” “ Lord and Christ, God of God.” Distinct sentences might have been interpolated, but here the whole scope of the argument is to the same effect; and in one passage^s, though the term *consubstantial* is not used, the Author contends at length that Christ, however distinguished by different names and offices, is always united with the Father. And to explain his meaning, he uses the well-known comparison of rays of light, which when on earth are the same as originally flowing from the solar body.

The Author thus concludes his dissertation: “ O my brethren, be persuaded, no longer “ revile Christ crucified and his stripes, by “ which all may be healed, as we are healed. “ Consider your Scriptures, and you will find “ that, according to them, Christ came in the “ power of the omnipotent Father, proclaiming friendship and blessing and repentance, “ and the communion of Saints: that all men, “ whether bond or free, who believe in Christ “ and his promises, might enjoy with him an “ incorruptible inheritance^t.”

Christ crucified was to the Jews a stum-

^s Αυτον ειναι Θεον, τε μονη και αγεννητε και αρρητε Θεω υιον. Αυτος ων και Θεος και Αγγελος· Κυριος ων ο Χριστος, και Θεος Θεω υιος. P. 356, 357.

^t P. 358.

^t P. 369.

blingblock and to the Greeks foolishness. Justin Martyr^t, in opposition to his adversaries of both descriptions, has evinced the doctrine to be the power of God and the wisdom of God. He has proved its great superiority to the Mosaic dispensation, in whatever is interesting to our virtue and our happiness, and has also shewn it to be the mid-day splendour of truth and holiness, when compared with the darkness and impurity of Pagan superstition. He has given a reason of the hope that was in him. Nor has he neglected to furnish us with a guard against that philosophy falsely so called, the pernicious influence of which on the principles and manners of men has been felt in various ages of the world. This was the immediate cause of his martyrdom, which took place A. D. 165, at the malicious instigation of the pretended philosopher Crescens, and in the reign of the philosophic Emperor Marcus Antoninus, whose hostility to Christians is notorious. ^u While he continued on the

^t There is an excellent analysis of Justin's dialogue with Trypho, in Dr. Burgh's treatise. An application of this work to the Jews, at the present day, might be made with effect.

^u Justin presented an Apology also to the Emperor Marcus, which is much shorter than the first, but contains a similar statement of the superior purity of Christian morals.

throne, persecution raged in different parts of the Roman empire; particularly at Smyrna, where, as we have said, the venerable Polycarp suffered; and at Vienne and Lyons in

There are also extant two Epistles that bear his name, one addressed to Diognetus a noble Roman, with a design of converting him to Christianity; and the other to Zenus and Serena, two young Christians, whom the author wishes to confirm in habits of moderation, and tranquillity, and a renunciation of worldly vanities and vices, upon Christian principles. Upon the subject of the divine Atonement, the Author, in the first of these Epistles, says, that "God bore our sins, and gave his own Son a ransom (λυτρον) for us, the holy for transgressors, the blameless for sinners, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible and immortal for the corrupt and mortal. For what could cover our sins but his justice? In whom could we be justified, being transgressors and unrighteous, but in the Son of God alone?" Again; "God sent down from heaven, not a Messenger or Angel, but him by whom he made the worlds, who is the truth and the holy Word. What? that he might exercise a fearful tyranny? No; but in clemency, in loving-kindness, as a King sending his Son a King, he sent him as God to men, he sent him to save: to persuade, not to force; to call, not to persecute; not in judgment, but in love. But hereafter he will send him in judgment, and who shall sustain his coming?" With respect to the evidences of the Holy Ghost, as the primitive Fathers continually and uniformly intimate, that all goodness, whether of faith or practice, is from divine influence, so they constantly appeal for proof of this influence, not to their internal persuasions, or to their professions, but to their actions, and the whole conduct of their lives.

Gaul, in which cities many Christians testified their faith in death.—An account of the circumstances of their martyrdom was transmitted to the Bishop of Rome, by the hands of Irenæus, then a Presbyter, afterwards Bishop of Lyons, and still more distinguished by his treatise against heresies, in five books. Little of the original Greek remains: in the preface the Author observes, that much elegance is not to be expected in a writer who lives among the barbarous Celts. The ancient Latin translation, though in a rude style, has in many parts great force and sublimity of expression. The heresies which Irenæus engages to refute are chiefly those of the Gnostics, “fables and endless genealogies, in Apostolic language, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith*.” These are traced through the systems of Menander, Basilides, Valentinus, and other teachers, who slightly differed from each other, up to Simon Magus, as the original author. The doctrines of the Gnostics were extravagant almost beyond example, being compounded of a mixture of the Platonic notion of ideas, and the Pythagorean mysteries of numbers, with the theogony of the hea-

* 1 Tim. i. 4.

then Poets, and the Gospel of St. John¹. Some of their fundamentals, which are not discovered in any of these sources, probably belong to oriental philosophy, and are thus delineated by our Author in his first book, according to the system of Valentinus, which obtained greatest celebrity. He imagined a principle, called *Æon*, and personified under the name of *Proon*, preexistent, or *Bythos*, depth; living in silence and repose with *Ennoia*, thought. These two *Æons* produced two more, *Nous* and *Aletheia*; who multiplied in their turn, until *Æons* or emanations, male and female, with high-sounding names, were generated in pairs to the number of thirty: and constituted the *Pleroma*, a certain invisible and spiritual fulness. This fable it was pretended to connect with Scripture, by the correspondent number of years of our Saviour's Incarnation: and "St. Paul," said Valentinus, "clearly denoted the *Pleroma*, "when he declares, that 'in Jesus Christ 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead 'bodily²."

An *Æon*, named *Sophia*, through infirmity, strays out of *Pleroma*; and from her defection

¹ Irenæus, lib. i. and Fleury, Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 395.

² Coloss. ii. 9.

originate a Demiurgus or inferior Creator, and this material visible world. As a counterbalance to evil thus begun, there were two new emanations, Christ and the Holy Ghost, and moreover Jesus or the Saviour, who was formed from the quintessence of all the powers; and who descended upon an earthly Jesus at his baptism, but was not crucified with him.

In the midst of these profane absurdities, a reference is perceptible to the scriptural doctrines of original sin, the fall and redemption of man. However ridiculous and unworthy of serious refutation extravagancies of this kind may now appear, it is probable, from the notice which the primitive Fathers take of the Gnostics, that their erroneous doctrines prevailed to considerable extent; and they were moreover accompanied, as might be expected, by the poison of immorality. They divided the race of men into three classes, spiritual, animal, and material^a: the last of which they doomed to unavoidable destruction. The animal order of beings, which designated the orthodox Church, *might* be saved by faith and good works. But the spiritual, which denomination they confined to themselves, could not but be saved, ac-

^a Πνευματικόν, ψυχικόν, ὕλη.

according to their doctrine, by their essential nature, whatever their conduct might be: as gold buried in mud loses nothing of its real quality. "They say," observes our author, "that we have only the usufruct of "grace, and may be deprived of it; whereas "it is their own inalienable property^b." The obvious consequence of these notions was utter profligacy of life among the Gnostics. They held the consummation of all things to be, when all of the spiritual class being perfected by *γνωσις* or true science, should pass into Pleroma, and enjoy a union with the Saviour and his Angels.

Irenæus having given an explanation of the tenets of the Gnostics in his first book, proceeds to a refutation of them. To use his own metaphor, he has removed the covert and bushes from the wild beast, that it may appear in its true shape, and be more easily destroyed. In the second book he shews that the Gnostic doctrines are as inconsistent with themselves as with sound reason: that there cannot be two Creators, or two Gods, one within and the other without a Pleroma, or fulness of all things; nor an infinite Pleroma, beyond which something exists. After all their bewildered and circuitous deduc-

^b Iren. lib. i. cap. 20.

tions; they must come to a first cause: wherefore not confess him that is God? The Valentinians accuse the churchmen of mean and groveling notions, because they admit not these magnificent fables: but they themselves are equally condemned by the followers of Basilides, who count 365 heavens; and the Basilideans in their turn by others, who reckon several thousand heavens^c.

From a consideration of the limited powers of man, the Author recommends humility before God^d, and a dutiful submission to his laws; and thus continues: “ He is the Framer, “ Inventor, Creator and Lord of all; and beside him or above him there is none other “ God, nor a Pleroma of thirty Æons; nor “ Bythus nor Proarche; nor heavens, nor any “ of the things which they fable. God our “ Creator and Father is just, is good: he “ formed man and put him in paradise, he “ brought a deluge on the earth and saved “ Noah: he is the God of Abraham, the “ God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God “ of the living, whom the Law announces, “ and the Prophets proclaim, whom Christ “ reveals, in whom the Church believes. “ Jesus Christ, the Son and Word, co-existent “ with the Father, reveals him to Angels and

^c Lib. ii. cap. 22.

^d Cap. 43. et seq.

“ Archangels, and to all to whom God will
“ be revealed*.”

The third book is employed in adducing the authority of tradition in the Church, and the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, in opposition to the Gnostics. The latter part of the † book is directed particularly against those who maintained that Jesus Christ was a phantom, and mere appearance; and against others, who, by an opposite error, considered him only as the son of Joseph.

The fourth book exhibits a commentary upon many speeches of our Lord, and passages of the Old Testament, which subvert the hypotheses of the Gnostics. The fifth and last book is a recapitulation, with observations upon various theological subjects‡.

A confutation of the heresies of the Gnostics is no longer necessary or interesting in detail: but the treatise of Irenæus admits of a particular application to those two subjects, which I wish continually to bring under your consideration. The author's great design is to establish the unity of the Godhead, as this doctrine is delivered in Scripture, in opposition to a plurality of divinities imagined by the Gnos-

* Chap. 53.

† From chap. 20.

‡ The resurrection, destruction of the world, antichrist, the millennium.

ties. Any testimonies therefore which can be adduced from his writings in support of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and of his atonement, have a peculiar force.

Such proofs are numerous; and the following passages are selected from many of the same import: ^h“ The Church believes in one
“ God, maker of heaven and earth, through
“ Jesus Christ the Son of God; who out of
“ his transcendant love to his creatures, en-
“ dured to be born of a Virgin, and himself
“ united ⁱmanhood to Godhead, and suffered
“ under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and as-
“ cended into heavenly brightness, and shall
“ come again in glory, the Saviour of those
“ who are saved, and the Judge of those who
“ are judged. And this doctrine, not writ-
“ ten with ink, is inscribed on the hearts of
“ men by the Holy Ghost.” “ Our Lord and
“ his Apostles always taught the same truths,
“ viz. faith in one God, and hope in his Son
“ Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from apostasy
“ by his blood, that we might be a holy peo-
“ ple^k.” “ Our Lord Jesus Christ is God,
“ the Word and Son of God, the Saviour of

^h See Irenæus's Creed, lib. i. cap. 19.

ⁱ Eam quæ efflet ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo. lib. iii. cap. 4.

^k Ibid. cap. 5.

“all, the Ruler of heaven and earth, whose
 “kingdom is eternal. The Son of God co-
 “existent with the Father really took human
 “flesh!” “The Apostles all affirm that Jesus
 “Christ is very man and very God^m.”

The latter part of the third ⁿ book is, as has been already stated, an express dissertation for the purpose of proving from Scripture the union of the two natures, divine and human, in the person of Jesus Christ. And the two remaining books furnish abundant quotations to the same effect; as, “The Son
 “received testimony of his being truly man
 “and truly God^o.” “Before all creation, the
 “Word glorified his Father, remaining in him:”
 “God’s ministers are the Son and Holy Ghost,
 “the Word and Wisdom, to whom all the
 “Angels are subject.”

Spiritual men, according to the Gnostics, were so naturally and essentially: but “the
 “truly spiritual man,” says Irenæus, “is he
 “whose faith and practice are consonant to

^l Cap. 11. Ὁ παῖς ἐν Ποντίᾳ Πιλάτῃ, ὅτος κύριος τῶν πάντων, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ θεός, καὶ κριτὴς ἐστίν. cap. 12.

^m Cap. 18. Ipse (in carne passus) verbum Dei, Christus Jesus, Deus noster.

ⁿ From chap. 20. Virginem parere filium, et hunc partum Deum esse nobiscum, cap. 21. ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀνδρωποσ ἐγενετο. cap. 23.

^o Lib. iv. cap. 14, 17, 28. Unus et idem Deus pater et verbum ejus. cap. 47.

“ the Gospel ; and he, to use the language
 “ of St. Paul, shall judge all men, and shall
 “ himself be judged by none.” “ He shall
 “ judge,” our Author continues, “ the Gentiles,
 “ the Jews, the Valentinians, and also the ‘ Ebi-
 “ onites or Unitarians : for how can they be
 “ saved, unless he were God, who accomplished
 “ their salvation upon earth ? or how shall man
 “ pass to God, if God have not passed to man ?
 “ How could he be greater than Solomon,
 “ the Lord of David, the conqueror of death,
 “ if he were the same substance with man ?”

With such passages as these before him, Dr. Priestley asserts that the primitive Fathers, and Irenæus in particular, did not reckon Unitarianism among the heresies of their time. Probably this was not a very prevalent heresy, and therefore their censures are not so immediately directed against it. But with equal cogency of logic might it be contended, that because the controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome turns not on the divine Atonement, therefore these two societies were indifferent on that point of doctrine.

One more quotation will suffice on this subject : “ Christ fulfilled the law for us ; and

P I Cor. ii.

Ἡ ἀνακρίνει δὲ τοὺς Ἑβραίων· πῶς δύνανται σωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ᾧ ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιγὼς ἐργαστομένης ; Cap. 59.

“ as we all transgressed in the first Adam,
 “ so in the second Adam we are all recon-
 “ ciled to God. The Lord became incarnate
 “ that he might be a mediator for us with
 “ the Father, and offer up a propitiation and
 “ satisfaction for our sins. He also remitted
 “ sins, and thus shewed himself who he was :
 “ for none can remit sins but God alone. As
 “ man he suffered with us ; as God he pities
 “ and forgives our trespasses^r.”

The secondary object of our Author's treatise is to abate the pride of self-conceited men, who boasted their predestination to eternal happiness by some inherent excellence of nature. He constantly asserts that sanctification is a gift, as in the following passages :
 “ Our Lord Jesus Christ promised to send the
 “ Paraclete : and as wheat is a dry mass, and
 “ cannot be made bread without water, so
 “ neither can we bring forth fruit to eternal
 “ life without the unction of the Holy Ghost^s.”
 “ The Word of God is our Emanuel, who
 “ saves those who cannot save themselves,
 “ according to the reasoning of St. Paul, who
 “ affirms, ‘ In my flesh dwelleth no good
 “ thing ;’ and, ‘ wretched man that I am, who
 “ shall deliver me from this body of death ?’”
 and he immediately introduces the Deliverer,

^r Lib. v. cap. 17.

^s Lib. iii. cap. 19.

“ the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ^t. ” “ The
 “ Holy Ghost, the food of life, is communicated
 “ to man; and the Word of God, in human
 “ nature, took upon him the form of a child,
 “ that man might be capable of attaining a
 “ perfect state of being, which by nature is
 “ not his. Herein are manifested the power,
 “ and goodness, and wisdom of God: his
 “ power and goodness, in creating things that
 “ were not; his wisdom, in creating all things
 “ in order, harmony, and proportion. Some,
 “ out of his boundless goodness, receive con-
 “ tinual increase of his grace and the gift of
 “ perseverance to the end. Thus in gradual
 “ and proportionate order is man formed after
 “ the image of God, by the good-will of the
 “ Father, the ministration of the Son, and
 “ the nourishment of the Holy Ghost; and
 “ through progressive stages of improvement,
 “ from nature to grace, from strength to
 “ strength, he arrives at perfection, and is
 “ glorified in a union with the uncreated
 “ Godhead^u. ”

Modern times have witnessed the vain speculations of men, who resembled the Gnostics in proudly supposing that unassisted human nature is capable of perfection. As these ancient heresies afford a prototype of the spuri-

^t Ibid. cap. 22.

^u Ibid. cap. 75.

ous origin and vanity of these notions, they also exhibit a striking example of their pernicious influence upon human life. "These Heretics," our Author observes, "are not found to employ themselves in virtuous and honourable actions, in exercises of labour and skill; but, instead of the pursuits of industry, art and knowledge, they addict themselves to luxury and idleness*."

Hear the true criterion of sanctification which Irenæus establishes: "Christ came not to break, but to fulfil the Law: and all precepts of natural goodness, which were first promulgated to the Jews, have an increased obligation upon us. For to be like God; and to follow his word, and to love him above all things, and our neighbour as ourselves, and to refrain from all evil actions, these commands shew one and the same God. As the Jews received the law of obedience, so are we under the liberty of the Gospel: and having obtained more grace, let us love God more†."

"God wanted nothing of man: but a participation of God's glory was wanting to complete the happiness of man, which he could only obtain by obedience. Now through Christ, being made sons of God

* Lib. ii. cap. 57.

† Lib. iii. cap. 27.

“ by adoption, all God’s commands are more
 “ binding upon us than before, when we
 “ were as servants.”

Having stated that salvation is by free and universal grace, he enforces the obligations of superior holiness incumbent upon those who have received a better revelation. “ If
 “ men were by nature, some good and some
 “ evil, they would deserve neither praise, nor
 “ blame. But since all are of the same na-
 “ ture, capable of holding fast and doing that
 “ which is good, and the contrary : therefore
 “ in the sight of men of understanding (and
 “ how much more in the sight of God ?) some
 “ are praised and receive a worthy testimony
 “ of their election in the excellent body ca-
 “ tholic, and of perseverance : and others are
 “ blamed, and receive a just punishment, be-
 “ cause they are reprobates from what is good
 “ and excellent^a.”

“ A good man is a name only, if he is good
 “ by the spontaneous operation of nature,
 “ without choice, without intelligence, with-
 “ out enjoyment^b.”

“ But some one may ask, wherefore could
 “ not God create man perfect from the be-
 “ ginning ? Because man is in his nature im-

^a Ibid. cap. 31.

^a Lib. iv. cap. 37 et seq.

^b Cap. 73.

“ perfect and evil, as he is man; and incapable of supporting the glory of God. We are as helpless infants, and can only by degrees receive the milk of the word, and be accustomed to the bread of eternal life, which is the Spirit of the Father^c.”

“ God is the fountain of all good; and man, receiving his proficiency from God, will by fixing his mind on God have communion with him. For God never ceases to bless and enrich man: and the receptacle of his goodness, and organ of his glory is a grateful heart: while a man ungrateful and regardless of his Maker is a vessel of judgment^d.”

“ Charity is the fulfilling of the law: without love knowledge is nothing, nor comprehension of mysteries, nor faith, nor prophecy. Love makes a perfect man, who shall dwell with God in love for ever^e.”

“ We are commanded to abstain not only from evil works, but also from evil thoughts, and evil words; so that the punishment of those who believe not in the word of God, and despise his coming, and turn from his ways, is increased: they incur not a temporal, but an eternal punishment^f.”

^c Ibid. cap. 74.

^e Ibid. cap. 25.

^d Lib. iv. cap. 24.

^f Lib. iv. cap. 47.

In recapitulating his sentiments, the Author states the resurrection both of soul and body through the redemption of Christ: that there is no essential difference of natures among men; but that all flesh must be regenerated by the Spirit of God, and become his temple, before it can attain the inheritance of eternal life. And the fruit of the Spirit is not a change of corporeal substance; but a change from the vain and wicked works of the flesh to holiness^s.

From the premises which the writings of Justin Martyr and Irenæus supply, we establish these obvious consequences; that superior purity of doctrine produces superior purity of life and manners; that purity of doctrine, as it is not to be expected of those who reject revelation, and build up their religious creed upon the deductions of natural understanding, neither is it found among those who, embracing revelation, shut their ears to the voice of reason. So far is true religion from being incompatible with reason, that the Gospel alone admits of a reasonable defence from its followers, and thus evinces a real superiority over infidelity and error.

^s Lib. v. cap. 6, 9, 11.

S E R M O N I V .

I TIM. iv. 1, 3.

*In the latter times some shall depart from the faith—
forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from
meats.*

THE great extension of the Roman power was one of those secondary causes, which facilitated the progress of Christianity. The four primitive Fathers, whose writings remain to be considered, lived in countries, which were provinces of the great Empire, and on the other side the Mediterranean. Clement, the first of these in order of time, was a Presbyter and master of the catechetical or religious school at Alexandria in Egypt, about the close of the second century. This city had realized that scheme of judicious policy, which the comprehensive genius of its great Founder formed for the advancement of commerce: it was second only to Rome, inhabited by a numerous and busy populace, ornamented with superb buildings, the mart of the world,

and at once the seat of thriving industry and luxurious opulence, and the nurse of liberal arts and sciences. There the eclectic philosophy had its beginning, which was compounded from the tenets of the different Greek sects: and as mercantile customs seem favourable to an unrestricted interchange even of intellectual advantages, we shall find in the three compositions of Clement a multifarious erudition, and freedom of thought and expression, rather than regular precepts of sound doctrine.

His "Admonition to the Gentiles" is written on the same plan as Justin Martyr's "Exhortation," but in a more animated, copious, and desultory style. The Author exposes, in language as naked as Juvenal's satire, the impious and detestable practices of Heathen Orgies: he holds up to unreserved indignation the vices that characterize the Heathen Deities; and justly observes, that worse examples are not to be found among the worst men. Upon the subject of religious worship he declares that Idolaters adore, not gods, but the materials and skill which go to the composition of images; he expresses his disgust at the profane homage paid by the Egyptians to brute creatures, and the horrid custom of human sacrifices. He then passes to the opinions of Grecian philosophers concerning the eternity

of matter, and the exalted sentiments of Plato^a on the nature of the soul, which, like Justin, he derives from a Hebrew origin.

But all these speculations afford him no satisfaction: "I want, I desire," says Clement; "a spiritual God, a God who makes, not who is made. Behold the universe, it is his work; the heavens, and the sun: angels and men are the creation of his hands. Unerring justice is his attribute; and by it he balances the frame of nature." "Without the Word," he adds, "all religious investigation is vain: the holy prophetic Scriptures are the foundation of religious truth; the rule of life; the high-road to salvation^b." After adducing several scriptural quotations, he proceeds thus: "Come hither, O youths of my care, come hither, as children, and be regenerated, according to Scripture, that ye may be acknowledged by your heavenly Father, and attain his kingdom." He enlarges upon the goodness of God in calling sinners to repentance, and upon the rewards attending obedience, faith and charity, through Christ, whom he calls God, and

^a Both the Christian Fathers suppose that Plato, who (In *Timæo*) calls virtue a divine gift, (*θεία μοίρα*), intimates the influence of the Holy Spirit.

^b *Ὁδοὶ σωτηρίας συντομοί*, p. 50. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1641.

a universal Saviour†. After describing the miserable habits, and infatuation of Infidels, he thus pursues his Christian arguments: “ An
 “ Athenian follows the laws of Solon; a
 “ Spartan those of Lycurgus. If you are a
 “ believer, heaven is your country, and God is
 “ your lawgiver. And what are his laws?
 “ Do not kill, do not commit adultery, steal
 “ not, bear no false witness: love the Lord
 “ thy God. Since the Word has descended
 “ from above, we need not now repair to
 “ Greece in search of knowledge. Lay hold
 “ of Christ, the true light, by which we see;

Οφρ' ευ γνωσχοις ημεν Θεον, ηδε και ανθρωπ^d.

“ And wherefore do I exhort you? That you
 “ may be saved. This Christ wishes, the Word
 “ of truth, the Word of incorruption: he re-
 “ generates men, brings them to truth, excites
 “ them to the attainment of salvation: he
 “ destroys death, and builds up for himself a
 “ temple in the heart of man. O cleanse this
 “ temple, and make it pure; and cast idle
 “ pleasures, as a flower that lasteth but a
 “ day, to the wind and flames. Instead of
 “ execrable rites, our mysteries are the joys
 “ of Heaven; and Christ initiates us. Suffer

† Γευσθε και ιδετε οτι Χριστος ο Θεος, p. 56. ο Χριστος εστι πανταχ^h σωτηριος, p. 66.

^d P. 70.

" that anointing of faith, which will save
 " you from destruction: persevere in run-
 " ning that course, in which the Son of
 " God is victorious to the glory of the Fa-
 " ther. Let us be lovers of glory in things
 " that are honest, lovers of God, that we
 " may attain the best possessions, God and
 " life. The Word is our helper: let us be
 " of good courage in his strength. Let
 " us despise gold and silver and worldly re-
 " nown in comparison of the desire of the
 " Word of truth. How can we please God,
 " if we deem those things of most value,
 " which are in reality nothing but folly, and
 " ignorance, and sloth, and vice, and fla-
 " grant impiety. Truly do the wise affirm
 " that the ungodly are fools. The Word ex-
 " horts us to follow, without hesitation, wis-
 " dom and sober-mindedness, rather than the
 " madness of the world. With all our strength
 " let us incline to truth, and pursue the
 " ways of God in moderation and simpli-
 " city. Knowing that we are his most ex-
 " cellent inheritance, let us devote ourselves
 " to the entire love of God, and account this
 " to be the business of our lives. The goods
 " of friends are common, and God vouch-
 " safes to consider the religious man, through
 " the mediatorial Word, *μεσιτευοντος τῆς λογῆς*, as
 " his friend: therefore all things are his, be-

“ cause all things are God’s. Finally, the
 “ true Christian alone is rich, wise and
 “ noble; thus far the image of God: and
 “ being made just and holy in spirit by Jesus
 “ Christ, becomes united to God. This grace
 “ the prophet reveals in these words, ‘ I have
 “ said ye are gods and sons of the Highest.’
 “ Us, us I say he has adopted, and wills to
 “ be called our Father, but not the Father
 “ of unbelievers. Such is the state of us Chris-
 “ tians. As our thoughts, so are our words;
 “ as our words, such are our actions; and all
 “ uniting in the consistent tenor of a good life.”

The next work of Clement is a treatise in
 three books, entitled the Pedagogue, whose
 instruction is intended, to use the Author’s
 words, “ not so much to teach knowledge,
 “ as to amend the heart: for this Master and
 “ Physician of Souls, is Christ our God^c.”
 The first book consists of an exhortation to
 those who come to Christ in faith, that they
 should render themselves, as children, docile
 to his law, meditate on their heavenly in-
 heritance, and evidence their title to incor-
 ruption by following the steps of their Lord
 and Master, in peace, gentleness, and unaf-
 fected moderation, in the practice of virtue,
 in all noble, honest and estimable qualities.

^c ‘Οδε ἡμετέρος παιδαγωγὸς ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησὺς· αὐτὸς ὁ φιλαν-
 θρώπος Θεὸς ἐστὶ παιδαγωγός. lib. i. cap. 7.

The reward and end of Christianity is then declared, namely, eternal rest with God; and its superiority asserted over the precepts of heathen philosophy, which only affect this present world.

The second book enters into very minute details of the conduct which becomes a Christian in eating and drinking, in dress, in company, and all the usual habits of life. The sumptuous and costly luxury which the Author notices, not without elegance, among his countrymen^f, may surprise those who study refinement and voluptuousness even in modern days. And his strictures are more likely to be efficacious in correcting licentiousness, because he acts not the part of a rigid and austere censor, but delivers them in a tone of temperance and moderation. These are some of his sentiments; “A man
“should smell not of perfumes, but of good
“actions, and good manners. Make friends
“by your beneficence; they are the best
“ornaments, with which you can embellish
“yourself. Liberality is the most becoming
“ornament to the hand; to the neck, modesty; to the ear, a readiness to receive
“religious instructions.”

^f Our Author was of the same age and country with Athenæus.

§ Chap. 11.

In the third book the same subject is continued : the Author praises that beauty which is within ; he recommends frugality, exercise, employment ; and concludes with apposite quotations from Scripture, and a prayer to the Instructor, as to God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost^h.

The chief and most elaborate composition of Clement, are his eight books, entitled *Στρωματεῖς*, or tapestry-work ; being a miscellany, containing information and remarks upon theological and profane subjects, and designed, according to the Author's own description, as " a repository, for the benefit of his old
" age, of all the memorable and useful things
" which he had been fortunate enough to
" learn, at different times and places, from
" holy and worthy men ; a shadowy resemblance of energetic and animated originalsⁱ."

A sense of duty, in fulfilling the office I had undertaken, induced me to read the *Stromata* ; but I feel incompetent to give, within my present limits, a regular analysis of a composition, which extends, without systematic arrangement or connection of its parts, through 300 folio pages, in a style of languid mo-

^h Ἰλαθε τοῖς σοῖς παιδαγωγέ παιδίοις, πατερ, ἡγιοχε Ἰσραηλ, υἱε και πατερ, ἐν ἀμφω, κυριε. p. 266.

ⁱ *Strom. lib. i. p. 274.*

notony, though interspersed with judicious and exalted sentiments. My object will be, after offering a concise summary of the contents of each book, to select certain passages from the whole work, in support of those two main propositions, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and the true criterion of divine Inspiration, to which I wish constantly to direct your attention, in the course of this Lecture.

Clement had embraced the ^k eclectic philosophy, and his great object is to make all kinds of learning and knowledge subservient to the purposes of righteousness, and the establishment of Christian faith. ^l It is the property, he says, of divine wisdom, to turn to good even that which had an evil origin: as fire warms, and light spreads itself. The first book alleges that philosophy is to the Gentiles, what the Law was to the Jews, a Schoolmaster to bring them to Christianity. In the second book the Author states, that true religion consists not, as the Gnostics contended, in any superiority of nature, but in faith, which the Greeks despised; yet without which, he observes, on the authority of St. Paul, it is impossible to please God. He refutes the immoral tenet of the Gnos-

^k Lib. ii. p. 288.

^l Ἀγαθοποιεῖν φουρὶς Θεοῦ. p. 312.

tics, that vices are appendages of our original constitution; he maintains that from true faith all virtues naturally spring, and that ^mgood actions are the test of our resemblance to God.

The third book consists of a dissertation on Marriage, and the fourth on Martyrdom. On both these subjects opposite and extreme opinions were propagated: while some sects, as the Carpocratians, lived in promiscuous concubinage, others, as the Marcionites, deviated into the opposite extreme of rigorous celibacy: while some Christians shunned martyrdom, as self-destruction, others courted it voluntarily. In both cases Clement condemns all violent excesses, and inculcates precepts of moderation and soberness of mind, upon scriptural grounds: and he particularly explains this present state to be a state of probation, in which the grace given by God may be rejected, abused, or progressively improved for our salvation. Our Author adduces the examples of St. Peter and St. Philipⁿ in favour of matrimony; He considers the husband of one wife^o, whether he be a Priest, a Deacon, or a Layman, to be on that account blameless: and quotes St. Paul's

^m Εἶχον Θεὸν ἀπὸρ εὐεργετῶν, p. 404.

ⁿ P. 448.

^o P. 464.

admonition to ^pTimothy to the same effect, and also the words of my text, in opposition to all unnecessary austerity, which diverts men from that moderate and consistent course of a good life, which is really most pleasing in God's sight.

The fifth book, which is very miscellaneous, is chiefly employed in shewing that the source of Grecian knowledge is to be traced among the Jews.

In the sixth book the Author, in continuation of the subject of his Pedagogue or Instructor, delineates at large the exalted character of a true Gnostic or Christian. The Greeks, and even the Jews, he observes, fixed their thoughts upon the limited endeavour of abstaining from evil: they aspired merely to a negative merit: but the true Gnostic entertains a more sublime morality, in the cultivation of justice and universal beneficence. Such were the Apostles; and such are all those, who combine faith and knowledge, and who are full of the love of God and man. They enjoy communication with God, they resemble their Saviour, and are exempt from the dominion of evil passions. They may safely and profitably use profane knowledge;

and finally, they perform, with superior virtue and honour, all the different functions of life.

The seventh book is the continuation of the same subject, a sketch of the character of a true Gnostic, which the want of order and method makes tediously prolix.

In the eighth book the Author maintains that there is some certainty in knowledge, in opposition to the maxims of Pyrrhonism: and that both dialectic and metaphysical studies may, under due regulations, be usefully applied to the great ends of Christianity. It cannot be denied that Clement, from his addiction to philosophical studies and his partiality to the sect of the Stoics, and perhaps with a view of softening the prejudices of the learned Greeks, and of gaining them over to Christianity, sometimes affects a language of mystery and subtlety, which, however consistent with worldly wisdom, is not congenial with the pure simplicity of the Gospel. Still he is far from placing virtue on a human foundation; he calls it frequently "a divine gift^q:" he says, "that God is the principle and first cause of every thing; of being, of moral good and of knowledge^r." It must be remembered that he has conti-

^q P. 523.

^r P. 539.

nually in view the pestilent errors of the Gnostics, whom he certainly considers as farther removed from the truth than the best of the Gentile philosophers. In opposition to their arrogant notions of natural excellence and destiny, he asserts, that "we are by nature
"alienated from God"; that the morality of
"actions depends upon choice and free-will;
"that as goodness exists not without a free-
"dom of election in the mind, so neither is
"the event of things in our power; for we
"are saved by grace, yet not without good
"works."

Certain passages from the former writings of this Author have already been adduced, which plainly assert the divinity of Jesus Christ. Let me add some few more from the Stromata: "The Greeks say that Minos
"conversed with Jupiter: now God talked
"with Moses as a friend; and this great legislator was superior to the perfect character
"imagined by the Stoics, was truly wise and
"royal. But our Saviour surpasses all human
"nature". The offering of Isaac is alluded to as a type of the dispensation of redemption that was to come": and this and other im-

^s P. 392, and 547.

^t Ὁ Σωτηρ δὲ ἡμῶν ὑπερβαλλεῖ πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπινην φύσιν.
p. 367.

^u Ibid.

portant Christian doctrines are attested in the following declarations, that Christ is “the saving Word^x ;” that “the Son is wisdom and knowledge and truth, all in all, the Alpha and Omega^y.” “The Father (God) is not without the Son^z.” “There is one uncreated God, and one Son begotten before all things, without whom nothing was made^a :” the same “was incarnate of a Virgin, and being the power and wisdom of God, was made man, and suffered and rose again^b.”

The lenient and liberal doctrines of Clement, faulty as they are in attempting to blend Christianity with heathen philosophy, are strongly contrasted by the sentiments of his contemporary Tertullian, a Presbyter of Carthage. This Author was the first of the Fathers who wrote in Latin, in a style harsh and abrupt indeed, but keen and sententious, and which sometimes has an impassioned eloquence. His writings are divided into three classes, which comprehend four tracts addressed to Pagans and Jews, twelve exhortations to Christians on different subjects, and the most voluminous part, ten refutations of heresies.

^x Σωτηριω λογω. p. 485.

^y P. 537.

^z P. 544.

^a P. 644.

^b P. 677.

In the first class, the treatise "De Pallio" is a dry uninteresting performance, on occasion of the Author's having changed the Roman gown toga, for the cloak pallium, a dress worn by Greek philosophers, and by Christians.

The second treatise is a refutation of the Jews; and the Author's arguments remind us of Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho. He explains and elucidates the prophecies in the Old Testament relative to the Messiah, and contends that, according to the interpretation of the Jews themselves, it is impossible that they can receive accomplishment since the dispersion of that nation.

Tertullian's greatest composition, his Apology to the Roman Governors in behalf of the Christians, bears also a resemblance to Justin's work on the same subject. He exposes in strong terms the injustice of condemning Christians without inquiry, on account of their profession only: he repeats the odious and absurd charges brought against them, and asserts the innocence of their manners. The language of the African Father is bolder than that of his predecessor; he scruples not to tell his persecutors that they exercise an unjust tyranny, and stigmatizes in plain terms the inhuman malignity and cruelty of the emperors Nero and Domitian. "The head

“ of our offence,” continues our Author, “ is, “ that we are deemed sacrilegious and rebels.” As an answer to the first part of the accusation, he points out in nervous language the vices and follies of the heathen Deities, that is to say of men deified ; and sarcastically remarks, that the name of Lucullus, who brought cherries from Pontus, deserved consecration, no less than that of him who shewed the use of the vine. The worship of images, and all the abominations of heathen rites, are treated with bitter scorn and ridicule; and the calumnies with which Christian devotion was aspersed are triumphantly refuted. The following passage affords a favourable specimen of our Author’s style, in which the great doctrine of one supreme superintending Deity is established upon the evidences of the natural creation, and the testimony of man’s conscience exhibited in the involuntary emotions of the soul, and common forms of speech among all people.

“ Vultis et ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus
 “ quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus
 “ oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur ?
 “ Vultis ex ipsius animæ testimonio comprobemus ? Quæ licet carcere corporis pressa,
 “ licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet
 “ libidinibus et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet
 “ falsis Diis exancillata, cum tamen resipiscit

“ ut ex crapulâ, ut ex aliquâ valetudine, et
 “ sanitate sua potitur, Deum nominat, hoc
 “ solo quia propriè verus hic unus Deus, bonus
 “ et magnus. Et quod Deus dederit, omnium
 “ vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum,
 “ Deus videt, et Deo commendo, et Deus mihi
 “ reddet. O testimonium animæ naturaliter
 “ Christianæ! Denique pronuncians hæc, non
 “ ad Capitolium, sed ad cælum respicit. Novit
 “ enim sedem Dei, ab illo et inde descendit.”

The origin of these impressions of true religion in the world is derived by Tertullian from the Jewish Patriarchs, Prophets, and holy Scriptures: and he goes on to shew the superior blessings of the Christian dispensation over the old Covenant; because it proposes, without limitation, greater measures of grace. He thus asserts the divinity of Christ, the Logos: “ Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus,
 “ et prolatione generatum, et idcirco filium
 “ Dei et Deum dictum ex unitate sub-
 “ stantiæ.”

The charge of sacrilege being thus refuted, the Author enters upon a defence of the lives and morals of Christians; and contrasts with the cold formality of Pagan ceremonies their cordial devotion, and the prayers which they offer up for their enemies and persecutors *ad redundantiam benignitatis*: after enlarging on their dutiful obedience to the Imperial

government, the purity and gentleness of their manners, their unbounded charity, and their useful lives, he exclaims, " Instead of
 " being guilty, as we are charged, the fact
 " is, we only are innocent; and the true origin
 " of the superiority of Christian morals is, that
 " they flow from a divine principle. This
 " it is which renders Christians of each sex,
 " and of the lowest rank, more virtuous than
 " renowned philosophers among the Hea-
 " thens, whose morality rested on a human
 " foundation. Christians are incited to good
 " works by a belief in the resurrection of
 " the body, and the future retributive judg-
 " ment of God, who will render eternal re-
 " wards or punishments to men, according
 " to their deserts. Ye yourselves," our Au-
 " thor continues, " cheerfully engage in battle,
 " through hope of glorious victory and spoil.
 " *Prælium est nobis quod provocamur ad tri-*
 " *bunalia, ut illic sub discrimine capitis pro*
 " *veritate certemus. Victoria est autem pro*
 " *quo certaveris obtinere. Ea victoria habet*
 " *et gloriam placendi Deo, et prædam vivendi*
 " *in æternum. A Mutius, an Empedocles,*
 " *a Regulus devote themselves to death, and*
 " *you exclaim, What bravery, what energy*
 " *of soul! O gloriam licitam quia humanam!*
 " *Tantum pro patriâ, pro imperio, pro ami-*
 " *citiâ pati permissum est, quantum pro Deo*

“ non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas
 “ defunditis, et imagines inscribitis, et titulos
 “ inciditis in æternitatem, quantum de monu-
 “ mentis potestis: scilicet præstatis et ipsi
 “ quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem. Hanc
 “ qui veram a Deo sperat, si pro Deo patitur,
 “ insanus est.”

Here then we behold the manifest operations of the Holy Ghost upon men, who glorified God by their good works. And their examples, like the miracles of the Apostles, converted so many to the faith, that as Justin Martyr states the Christians to be spread in all parts of the world, so Tertullian declares that on account of their numbers and the fortitude with which they met death, they would be a formidable body, if their principles allowed resistance to the government. And again in his address to Scapula, the African Proconsul, which is a counterpart of the Apology, he affirms, that if all Christians were to be destroyed, the population of Carthage would be decimated.

Tertullian's writings against Heretics have two chief objects of vindication, the unity of God, and the real incarnation of Christ. Under the first head are to be classed his refutations of Marcion, who taught that there were two Gods, or eternal principles of good and evil; of Valentinus the Gnostic,

and his thirty Æons; and of Hermogenes, who maintained the eternity of matter. Some Heretics considered Jesus Christ to be a man, and others that his presence in the flesh was a phantom, or at least not that of a person consisting of a human body and soul^c: all these our Author opposes; and the plain inference from his doctrine is, that our Lord was truly God and truly man. This is his creed: “Unum omnino Deum esse; verbum
 “filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie
 “visum Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper au-
 “ditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu Dei pa-
 “tris et virtute in virginem Mariam, carnem
 “factum, et ex eâ natum hominem et esse
 “Jesum Christum; exinde prædicasse novam
 “legem, et novam promissionem regni cælo-
 “rum; virtutes fecisse; fixum cruci; tertiâ
 “die resurrexisse; in cælos ereptum sedere
 “ad dexteram patris; misisse vicariam vim
 “Spiritus sancti, qui credentes agat; ventu-
 “rum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos
 “in vitæ eternæ et promissorum cælestium
 “fructum, et ad profanos judicandos igni per-
 “petuo, facta utriusque partis resurrectione
 “cum carnis resurrectione^d.” Our Author op-
 poses the tenet of Ebion, “qui nudum homi-

^c Tertul. De Carne Christi, adversus quatuor Hæreses.

^d De Præscript. adversus Hæret. cap. 13.

“nem et tantum ex femine David natum,
 “non item et Dei filium, constituit Jesum.” He
 quotes Isaiah, chap. lxiii. “Non angelus neque
 “legatus, sed ipse Dominus salvos eos fecit^c.”
 and concludes his argument in these words;
 “Sic denique homo cum Deo, dum caro ho-
 “minis cum spiritu Dei, cum ipse sit de spi-
 “ritu Dei, et spiritus Deus est^f.” Upon the
 reality of our Lord’s incarnation, Tertullian
 establishes the certainty of the resurrection
 of our bodies; and in one tract defends the
 doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to
 Praxeas, who made no distinction of persons
 in the Godhead, and whose followers were
 afterwards called Patri-passians. The unity
 of substance and distinction of persons are
 thus plainly expressed: “Duos Deos, et Do-
 “minos Duos nunquam ex ore nostro pro-
 “ferimus, non quasi non et pater Deus, et
 “filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus, et
 “Deus unusquisque: sed quoniam retro et
 “duo Dei et duo Domini prædicabantur, ut
 “ubi venisset Christus, et Deus agnosceretur,

^c De Carne Christi, cap. 14.

^f Cap. 18. See also the Scorpiacum, or Antidote against the Gnostics, whose pernicious heresies the Author compares to the stings of scorpions: and the treatise De Anima, in which, contrary to the opinions of some Heathen philosophers and heretics, the immortality of the soul, the breath of God, is maintained: though by an unaccountable paradox, he states it to be corporeal.

“et Dominus vocaretur, quia filius Dei et
“Dominus.”

Our Author's disposition discovers itself in his tracts addressed to Christians, which contain exhortations of great harshness and severity, inculcating strict rules of ^h penance and bodily ⁱ austerities. A rigid censor of female manners and dress, he separated from his wife by mutual consent that they might lead lives of more holiness to God^k. At a public donative to the Roman army, a Christian soldier carried his laurel crown in his hand, instead of wearing it, as was the custom, on his head; and for this contempt he was scourged and imprisoned, but found in Tertullian^l a strenuous defender of those scruples, which however unnecessary, arose from an abhorrence of idolatrous practices. None of these productions are more characteristic than that entitled *De Spectaculis*, which after violent invectives against a compliance with the licentious indulgences and profane customs of the Heathen world, in pomp and ornamental dress and secular amusements, concludes with this fervid description of the true pleasures of a Christian: “Jam nunc si putas delectamentis exigere spa-

^s *Adversus Prax.* cap. 13.

^h *De Pœnitentia*, cap. 9.

ⁱ *De Patientia*, cap. 13.

^k *Ad Uxorem*, lib. i.

^l *De Coronâ Militis*.

" tium hoc, cur tam ingratus es, ut tot et tales
 " voluptates a Deo contributas tibi satis non
 " habeas, neque recognoscas? Quid enim ju-
 " cundius quam Dei patris et Domini recon-
 " ciliatio, quam veritatis revelatio, quam erro-
 " rum cognitio, quam tantorum retro crimi-
 " num venia? quæ major voluptas quam fasti-
 " dium ipsius voluptatis, quam seculi totius
 " contemptus, quam vera libertas, quam con-
 " scientia integra, quam vita sufficiens, quam
 " mortis timor nullus? quod calcas Deos na-
 " tionum, quod dæmonia expellis, quod medi-
 " cinas facis, quod revelationes petis, quod Deo
 " vivis? Hæ voluptates, hæ spectacula Chris-
 " tianorum sancta, perpetua, gratuita. Si sce-
 " nicæ doctrinæ delectant, satis nobis literarum
 " est, satis versuum, non fabulæ sed veritatis,
 " non strophæ sed simplicitates. Vis et pu-
 " gillatus et luctatus? præsto sunt, non parva
 " sed multa. Aspice impudicitiam dejectam a
 " castitate, perfidiam cæsam a fide, sævitiam a
 " misericordia contusam. Vis autem et san-
 " guinis aliquid? habes Christi. Quale autem
 " spectaculum in proximo est, adventus Do-
 " mini jam indubitati, jam superbi, jam trium-
 " phantis? Quæ illa exultatio angelorum, quæ
 " gloria resurgentium sanctorum^m?"

Tertullian's temper led him to join the sect

^m De Spectaculis, cap. 29. The remainder of this description is a savage picture of horrid torments.

of Montanus, a Phrygian, who inculcated great austerities, and either from hypocrisy or fanaticism, claimed extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost; and, it has been sometimes thought, the express office of the Paraclete or Comforter.

After this junction with the Montanists, though our author exhibited no doctrinal errors, yet his stern, ferocious, and dismal notions of discipline were pushed to greater excess. It seems that a sentence of excommunication was passed upon him by the Catholic Church, and he now stigmatizes the members of that body as *Psychicos* or animalⁿ, by a phrase borrowed from the Gnostics; because their fasts were not so rigid as those prescribed by Montanus. Sufferings and martyrdom^o in the cause of Christ seem to have been always deemed by him a subject of congratulation rather than pity: but Tertullian the Montanist condemns any attempt at escape or flight^p in time of persecution. Monogamy, Virginity no longer satisfy his sanctimonious superstition: nor can he find any place of repentance or pardon for the unchaste^q.

Here are the beginnings of those errors, which introduced as Christian duties an absti-

ⁿ De Jejuniis, cap. 1.

^o Ad Martyras.

^p De Fuga in Persecutione.

^q De Monogamia, Exhortatione Castitatis, et Pudicitia.

nence from meats and marriage, and a renunciation of social intercourse. From the ascetic institutions of the Solitudes of Egypt, the cradle of monks and hermits, adopted gradually by the western nations, these austerities spread over the Christian world; and being established in the public opinion, in little more than a century, as marks and criteria of true religion, unfortunately were considered characteristics of the ecclesiastical profession, and still retain an undeserved preeminence over active virtues in the Church of Rome.

St. Benedict, one of their models of sanctity, retires from human society into a wilderness of woods and streams, to live among beasts, and fowl, and creeping things. In the description of Fleury^r, you may still behold him stretched on the bare earth, squalid and emaciated; he hardens himself against the seasons and the elements, and the calls of natural appetite and feeling. He is sorrowing for his sins: but repentance is most truly manifested by amendment of life and good actions, not by apathy and useless sloth. He is atoning for them by a sacrifice of his worldly affections: rash, proud, profane thought! Can man, the thoughts of whose heart are impure continually; who, when he has performed his

^r Vol. vii. p. 296. A. D. 529.

utmost, is an unprofitable servant, claim merit towards his God? Can he hope to expiate guilt committed, by omitting to do what ought to be done? What account will he render of the talents entrusted to his care, noble birth and abundant possessions, an inheritance and stewardship which he has by wilful abdication cast away? That capacity of intellect which can measure the heavens and the earth, that dexterity of hand which shapes and subjects the material world to its purposes, those feelings glowing with the flame of universal charity, are all these gracious endowments, which in the human composition reflect the image of God, to lie waste like an uncultivated garden? Is it to love God with all the strength, and mind, and heart, when strength is turned into weakness, the reasoning powers are unexercised, and the affections are dried up in their source?

We do not indeed deny, that this romantic piety was useful in taming a barbarous age to habits of peace and order. But we contend that, abstractedly considered, a rule of piety and morals is both redundant and deficient, which comprehends a rigid abstinence from things indifferent in themselves, and overlooks the obligation to real duties and active usefulness. The virtue enjoined by the precepts, and recommended by the example, of our Lord, is

a human virtue, growing out of the constitution of our nature and the relations of society; not extinguishing the passions, but regulating them; not a speculative metaphysical theory, but practicable in the daily intercourse of life; not affecting extremes which from their ostentation captivate the unthinking multitude, but moderate, consistent, begun in sincerity, and completed with steadiness.

A sudden and great change in the habits of life dazzles men in general, and they often attribute to some influence of inspiration that which is the effect of a natural disposition, prone to extremes, and changing with the change of years, from youth to mature age, from the pursuits of pleasure to those of ambition. And the road to distinction and ascendancy in the world was, in a superstitious age, more certain and less perilous through the rigours of a cloister, than through the tumultuous career of military exploits. We also find that as a life of abstracted mortification ceased to be an object of popular admiration, the system of Monkeny declined and wore away.

The Reformation purified the virtue as well

Imberbis juvenis——

Sublimis, cupidusque, et amata relinquere pernix.

Conversis studiis, ætas animusque virilis

Quærit opes et amicitias, infervit honori.

Hor. de Art. Poet. 165.

as the faith of the Christian world. It has presented a guard against the creeping encroachments of superstition, which ignorantly affects to please God by a number of minute and scrupulous observances concerning things in their own nature indifferent. Yet reformed Churches have been occasionally debased by the prevalence of a mystical and puritanical spirit, which as far removed them from true and dutiful obedience to Christ's laws, as officious flattery differs from the constant sedulity of faithful friendship. This country unfortunately furnishes ample historical proof, that professions of fastidious nicety and extreme scrupulousness of conscience are more certain tokens of little than of pure minds :

—Meek and humble-mouth'd—their hearts
Were cramm'd with arrogancy, spleen, and pride.

Such notions either fill the mind of him who entertains them in sincerity with dismal apprehensions and unappeasable terrors of the divine anger, and render him unfit for the occupations of life, and even for life itself:—or, if his natural disposition incline more to zeal, he becomes presumptuous and fanatical; he deems all his own thoughts and actions sanctified and inspired, and those who differ from him appear in his eyes not only subject to error and impurity, but as outcasts from God's mercy, and given over to a reprobate mind.

Moreover superstition is the soil in which hypocrisy most thrives; like a rank weed, and drinks up the nourishment which should support vegetation wholesome for use and pleasant to the senses.

The evils of superstition, fanaticism, and religious hypocrisy are generally accompanied with an overstrained austerity of ostensible discipline. For this reason those among the Jews incurred our Saviour's rebuke, who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel, who made clean the outside and neglected to purify the heart. And the truth of the remark is particularly exemplified in Tertullian, who left the moderate opinions of the Catholic Church, to inculcate an abstinence from meats and marriage; and was induced to lend his powerful support to the licentious and heretical Montanus. Do we then oppose temperance, self-denial, and sobermindedness? God forbid. We encourage and promote these admirable graces, by checking excesses and extremes of all kinds, because they originate in a weak or perverse understanding, or are attended with insincerity, and because nothing violent is durable. The specific antidote against superstition is knowledge, the improvement and enlargement and useful direction of the human faculties under the guidance of religion; of which Clement of Alexandria seems

to have formed upon the whole a noble and just conception, though he may have intermixed profane science upon too much equality with Christian truth. The Gospel alters neither natural nor moral philosophy : it places that virtue, which is part of the eternal and immutable law of God, upon the firmest basis, and supplies the strongest motives for practising it. Finally, it is the duty of the minister of the Gospel principally to contend against impiety and sin, and upon occasion to caution men against a weeping and whining and hard-hearted superstition, pregnant with misery or intolerance, as zeal or fear prompt. It is his duty to exalt the standard of true religion, whose property is love towards God and man: her awful and majestic brow may be dressed in frowns against the guilty and impenitent, but the natural form of her countenance is amiable and complacent, and lighted up with the sunshine of heaven ; “ righteousness is a robe to her, and she is crowned with wisdom and knowledge ; her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace.” Such is the image of religion in the Gospel, and in the writings of the Antenicene Fathers, with the exception of the morose Tertullian.

SERMON V.

I COR. xii. 12,

As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.

THE tenor of the Apostle's argument in this chapter is, that a diversity of spiritual gifts and functions among the several members of Christ's Church is very consistent with a general union of the whole body. The primitive Christians were careful to observe in this respect the Apostolic model: heresies and schisms were confined to few persons; the main body of the Church held a cordial agreement upon fundamental points, in the unity of the Spirit, and in the bond of peace. Unfortunately in modern times there have been serious divisions in Christ's flock, and controversies concerning the respective claims of different societies to a communion with those true and faithful servants of our Lord, who constitute what is emphatically termed the Church and body of Christ; which, he has promised, shall never

fail, in this world or in the world to come. With a view of deciding these controversies, the opinions of the primitive authors have been often adduced; and we shall find the subject particularly illustrated by St. Cyprian, whose writings, together with those of Origen, remain for our consideration. These two Fathers, the last in order of time, are probably the greatest luminaries of the Christian world, during the period to which our views are limited.

Origen was a pupil of Clement of Alexandria, and a prodigy of intellectual powers. Deservedly might the surname Adamantine be conferred on him, whose life was a continual exertion of fortitude in voluntary poverty; who, besides collating the original Scriptures, had the daily conduct of a catechetical school, and employed the pens of seven persons to write down the dictates of his exuberant mind. The fruit of his studies filled several thousand volumes or tracts; and St. Jerome, whom few have excelled in learning, asks the Presbyters of his Church, "Who is there among you, that can read as many works as he has composed?" He was the only primitive writer of the times we are considering, who was educated a Christian. His father suffered martyrdom in the tenth year of the reign of Severus, A. D. 202. Origen, then in his seventeenth year, wrote a letter to comfort his father while

in prison, of which this sentence, characteristic of the author's fortitude, only remains: "Take heed, father, that for the sake of your family you do not change your mind." Tillemont observes, it is worth many volumes. He himself manifested unshaken constancy and zeal in the cause which he embraced; nor was his modesty less conspicuous, notwithstanding his great attainments, and that celebrity of reputation, which induced a Roman Empress and an Arabian Governor to desire a conference with him. Yet all these excellencies were sullied by an extravagance in theological opinions, totally incompatible with the simplicity of Christian doctrine.

Origen's most voluminous composition consisted of commentaries upon every book of Scripture; and his testimony is justly deemed of great importance in supporting the present Canon of the New Testament^a. Some of these remain in the original Greek^b, and are occa-

^a See Dr. Lardner's excellent remarks. *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 521. and 543.

^b His works were edited in two volumes, Rothomag. 1668. by the learned Huet, Bishop of Avranches, whose preliminary dissertation upon Origen is one of the most laborious and ingenious pieces of criticism, which ever appeared on the subject of the Fathers. He thinks that Origen, though he did not, like Arius, consider the Son as a creature, yet places him not on an equality with God the Father. Bishop Bull, with better reason, defends the ge-

sionally so verbose, as to countenance the opinion that they were delivered extemporaneously. The Author proposes to elucidate Scripture in three ways, in the historical or literal sense, in a mystical, and, thirdly, in a moral signification.

Our Author also composed several treatises on philosophical subjects, the *Stromata*, which are lost, after the example of his preceptor Clement, and the design of which St. Jerome states to have been, a confirmation of Christianity from the writings of Plato and Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers. The Gospel will not bear this mixture; and this is clearly shewn in Origen's treatise *περί ἀρχῶν*, which is still extant in Rufinus's translation*, and abounds in heterodox notions, chiefly derived from the writings of Plato. For instance, Origen supposes the nature of men, of angels, and of demons, to have been originally the same; and that these different orders of beings have had assigned to them different situations, on account of the extent of their obedience or disobedience to the laws of the Creator, the effect of their own free-will. He considers the stars to be animated, and peopled by genuine orthodoxy of this eminent Father, on the subject of the Trinity. See *Huet. Origeniana*, lib. ii. *Quæst. secunda*, S. 5, 24. et *Quæst. tert.* S. 24. et *Bulli Opera*, a Grabe, p. 105, 127, 273.

* Rufinus flourished A. D. 390.

rits, superior to those who inhabit this earth ; and that the most perfect being, the most attached to the Creator, is the soul of Jesus Christ, who suffered even for Angels and Demons. In his treatise on prayer^d, he recommends that prayer should be offered only to God the Father, and not to the Son. In his *Philocalia*, cap. 21. he seems to think that human endeavours, without divine grace, may attain goodness : and his commentaries on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel are not always in orthodox language.

In defence of Origen it is urged, that he brings forward these opinions, not as his own real sentiments, but by way of stating what others have said ; that he writes in a figurative and allegorical style ; and that many of his works now exist only in a spurious state or in

^d S. 50, 51, 52. Huetius considers all the errors of Origen to have flowed from these two sources ; a belief in the preexistence of souls before this mortal state, and latitudinarian notions of human liberty, which militate against the doctrines of original sin and free grace. Erasmus thinks that Origen was seduced from orthodoxy by a fondness for Plato's writings : Bishop Bull, that he indulged his inquisitive spirit to wantonnefs. *Op. Bulli*, p. 127. The *Philocalia* was a collection from Origen's writings made by St. Basil and St. Gregory. Fleury, tom. ii. p. 105. justly says, that Origen establishes free-will solidly upon the foundations of reason and Scripture, but pushes the consequences too far, in supposing the inequality of men to be the effect of merit on their part.

translation. Deductions and allowances of this kind are in fact blemishes upon his theology : and these defects in a person of such eminence point out the use and necessity of articles and formularies of faith, which serve as fences to Scripture, and preservatives of pure doctrine ; endangered as it is, no less by a want of caution and constancy on the part of its adherents, than by the attacks of open assailants. It is moreover worthy of remark, that Origen's peculiar mode of illustrating Scripture was captivating to the heathen world, and probably allured many into the fold of Christ, who would not have listened to a more simple exposition of the Gospel. So far was he from being an open propounder of heresy, that the Gnostics of all descriptions found in him a zealous and indefatigable opponent : and Athanasius^c himself adduced our Author's testimony to prove our Lord's coexistence and coessentiality with God the Father. However anomalous and inconsistent his writings may be, he maintained an irreproachable conduct during the tenor of a long life of sixty-nine years ; and passed, without the imputation of any vice, through poverty, persecution, and torture, and the yet severer trial of a splendid reputation ; continu-

^c Tom. i. p. 236. See Cave's Life of Origen, and Opera Bulli, p. 129.

ally exhibiting a rare union of the qualities of learning and eloquence, of ardour and perseverance, of good temper and energy, of modesty and knowledge almost unrivalled^f. An ancient Author has said of him, that “where he is in the right, he has not an equal, since the days of the Apostles; and where he is in the wrong, no man errs more shamefully^g.”

Erasmus declares, that he learns more from one page of Origen than from ten of St. Augustin: and it would be easy to multiply quotations of eulogies, from the highest authorities, upon this extraordinary man, who is excused from deliberate heterodoxy. This imputation was not cast upon him by his enemy

^f Illud de immortali ejus (Origenis) ingenio non tacens, quod dialecticam quoque et geometriam, arithmetica, musica, grammatica, et rhetorica, omniumque philosophorum sectas, ita didicit, ut studiosos quoque sæcularium literarum sectatores haberet, et interpretaretur quotidie; concursusque ad eum mirifici fierent, quos ille propterea recipiebat, ut sub occasione sæcularis literaturæ in fide Christi eos institueret. *St. Jerome de Viris Illust.* cap. 54.

Origenis animus plusquam adamantinus, quem nec vitæ austeritas, nec perpetui labores, nec dura paupertas, nec æmulorum improbitas nec suppliciorum terror, nec ulla mortis facies a sancto instituto vel tantillum dimovere potuit. *Erasm.* tom. v. p. 1612.

^g Sulpicius Severus, A. D. 401. Origen sold his library, which produced a daily sum, sufficient for his subsistence.

Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, who contrived to have him excommunicated, on a charge of infringing ecclesiastical discipline. Origen meant not to assert errors positively; and his best defence are those compositions which have gained him celebrity with posterity, his collations of different editions of Scripture^b, and his treatise against the Epicurean Philosopher Celsus, in eight books. This latter work has been, I think justly, praised as the completest and most polished Apologyⁱ for the Christian religion which the ancients have left us: but it so far partakes of the usual blemish of their writings, a want of order and luminous arrangement, that many of the books might be transposed promiscuously without injury to the sense or argument. This defect is not wholly to be attributed to our Author, for he follows the path of his adversary. Celsus, a friend of the satirist Lucian, in a work entitled A True Dis-

^b Huet. Origeniana, lib. iii. sect. 4. This work (see Appendix, No. I.) was accomplished after Origen's return from visiting Mammæa, the mother of the Emperor Alexander, at Antioch, and under the reign of the tyrant Maximin, who came to the throne A. D. 235. The Answer to Celsus was written more than ten years afterwards, when Origen had passed his sixtieth year. In the Decian Persecution, A. D. 250. he was chained with an iron chain, and was tortured in his feet for several days.

ⁱ By Du Pin.

course, (*ἀληθῆ λόγον*,) calumniated the Christians and their religion; and the powerful aid of Origen was engaged in their defence. The work of Celsus is lost; but the tenor of it may be easily collected from the Infidel quotations which occur in the Christian Father's reply. He first assumes the character of a Jew, and argues against the truth of the Gospel from the outward circumstances of Christians, their unlawful meetings, and miserable condition; he points out, with considerable shrewdness, certain apparent contradictions in the Scriptures; and reviles, in coarse terms, the mean appearance of Jesus upon earth, which he affirms to be inconsistent with the description of the Messiah, contained in the writings of the Jewish Prophets. Origen easily relieves his Christian brethren from the aspersions cast upon them: he allows that their meetings are private, for they cannot be otherwise, as they are opposed to prevailing superstitions; but he affirms their conduct to be pure and exemplary, both at their assemblies and in public life. He exposes the duplicity of Celsus, who, while he assumes the character of a Jew, prefers the Egyptian and Greek mythology to the Jewish creed, and shews great ignorance of the writings of Moses. Our Author explains the Scriptural predictions of two advents of the Messiah, one in humility and the second in glory;

and the mistake of the Jews, who expect a temporal deliverer. In energetic terms^k he vindicates the incarnate Redeemer, who was invested with a character really the most honourable upon earth, by constantly performing acts of justice and goodness: he shews that the poverty and rudeness of his immediate Disciples more clearly manifested the divine institution of the Gospel, which might have passed for a system of human philosophy, had it been propagated by the wise and learned of this world. The works and miracles of Christ and his Apostles he distinguishes from those of impostors and magicians by the sure criterion of their tendency to benefit mankind.

The second book is a continuation of the same subject. Celsus, in a second work, had introduced a Jew, addressing those of his own nation, and observing, that the first converts to Christianity were men of no reputation, and that the doctrine of the Gospel in reality presented nothing new to them. Origen very finely replies, that it weaned them from their shadowy formalities, and gave them a dispensation, not concerned with low and earthly things, but heavenly, spiritual, and leading to eternal happiness. With respect to the deri-

^k P. 23—26. Ed. Cantab. 1677.

sion cast upon the primitive converts, and the perpetual cavils of Celsus at a want of magnificence in the character of Jesus Christ, the Apologist shews that these objections arise from an erroneous notion of the true excellence of virtue¹, which consists not in an exemption from the pains and evils incident to humanity, but in enduring them with fortitude, and in avoiding sin. He removes the Philosopher's mask, and contends that a writer, who thinks pleasure the greatest good, and who disregards miracles effected for a beneficial purpose, as well those of Moses as of Jesus, is a Jew only in pretence, and must at heart be an Epicurean. The book concludes with a persuasive and forcible appeal to the Jews, exhorting them to open their eyes to God's visitations, and to receive as the promised Messiah Him, who bestows upon his disciples such a measure of faith, that they are enabled to think lightly of the troubles of this life, while they lead to an inheritance of eternal glory. "I see not," says Origen, "how
" a mere man could propagate through the
" whole world his doctrine and precepts, in
" opposition to all existing powers, and influence
" not only wise and reflecting minds, but
" all ranks of society. The astonishing success

¹ P. 83.

“ of Christianity is one proof that it is the
“ work of God^m. ”

In the first book the Author censures those who deny the divinity of Jesus Christ; and in the second, this article of faith is explicitly maintained, as in these passages: “ We think
“ Jesus to be God, and in some sort manⁿ: ”
“ according to us the Word, which is God and
“ the Son of God, spoke in Jesus, saying, I am
“ the way, the truth, and the life; and we
“ blame the Jews, who do not think him to
“ be God, according to the witnesses of Scrip-
“ ture and of the Father^o. ” Celsus makes this
tenet the ground of a subtle objection: If, says
he, Jesus was God, according to the Christian
doctrine, what he predicted necessarily came
to pass, and he was therefore the cause of Ju-
das’s treason against himself^p. Origen denies
the inference: God, he says, is not the author
and cause of evil; his foreknowledge in this
instance only implied the certainty of that evil
which sprang from other sources. The whole
passage is worthy the attention of those, who

^m P. 110.

ⁿ Τον Ιησουν Θεον νοουμεν, κατα τι δε ανθρωπον λογομεν.
P. 61.

^o Καθ’ ημας ο λογος Θεος, και Θεου των όλων υιος, ελεγεν εν
τω Ιησω—εγκαλουμεν ουν Ιουδαιοις τουτον, μη νομισασι Θεον.
P. 63.

^p P. 74.

engage in the mazes of this thorny subject. I merely adduce it as convincing evidence, on the part both of their opponent and their defender, that the primitive Christians believed their redemption to be purchased by God incarnate.

I must content myself with a very brief summary of the remaining books, in which Origen answers objections urged against Christianity by Celsus in his own name. Some of them, as the Apologist admits⁹, are specious, but they chiefly consist of calumnies delivered in a tone of contempt, rather than arguments. For instance, the Unbeliever asserts that the controversy between the Jews and the Christians relates to a matter of no moment, *οὐ ουκίας μαχη*[†]: (as if, says Origen, it were a matter of no moment whether or not the expected Messiah be come.) He would have it believed, that the Jews had their origin in Egypt, and were a sect from the religion of that country[‡]; and that the Christians in the same manner separated from the Jews, and still fostered a narrow principle of schism. The Christian Father on the contrary brings distinct proofs of their successful zeal in the conversion of mankind.

In this manner the disputation is carried on,

⁹ Lib. v. sub init. [†] Lib. iii. p. 112. [‡] Ibid. p. 116.

Origen always stating in the first place his opponent's own words, and then delivering his reply with firmness, temper, and good manners. Celsus asserts that the Christians^p are enemies to learning and knowledge, and that they make converts only among the ignorant, and profligate: he ridicules^q the Jewish Scriptures, and draws a parallel between the prophecies they contain, and the oracles and divinations of Paganism, in favour of the latter: he contends that the Gospel^r contains no instruction beyond what may be found in the didactic writings of the Greek philosophers. The Christian Father solemnly exhorts his opponent to read with care the Scriptures which he reviles, and particularly the Gospels and Epistles^s: he gives an admirable description of true wisdom, which Christians wish to allure men to embrace, in preference to false philosophy and the vices of the world: he observes, that in fact the ungodly are the unwise, and that the Gospel possesses, in its promised rewards, as much superiority over Paganism, as the lives of Jesus Christ and his followers excel the lives of Pagans. There follows^t a just and copious defence of the Mosaic writings, of their pri-

^p Lib. iii. p. 137, 138. ^q Lib. iv. p. 162—164.

^r Lib. vi. p. 275.

^s Lib. iii. p. 122, 154, 155, 160,

^t Lib. iv. p. 193, 226.

ority to the Grecian philosophy, and of that proof of their divine inspiration which is afforded by their being delivered, through the instrumentality of wise and good men, for the benefit of mankind. The Apologist insists, that ridicule is not a proper mode of treating a subject of such serious and incalculable interest: and he enlarges" upon the spirituality of the Gospel, as one of its most distinguishing characteristics.

My hearers will readily conceive that this ancient treatise is a valuable repository of leading arguments against Infidelity. The Author's favourite observations are, that the dispensation of the Gospel is proved to be divine by its tendency to promote human happiness, and that it really produces this beneficial effect; for as the faith and hopes of Christians are better than those of other men, so by divine grace are their lives.

This work abounds in all parts with testimonies to the divinity of Jesus Christ; nor have I observed any passage that could be construed to an opposite meaning. The Ebionites are mentioned as heretics^x; in the third book one of Celsus's objections is, that Christians believe "God was incarnate in a mortal body^y:"

^u Lib. vi. p. 324, 327.

^x Lib. v. ad fin.

^y Περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ θνητοῦ σώματος οὐτὰ Θεὸν νομίζουσιν.

and in the fourth he sarcastically asks, "Wherefore should God descend?" Origen plainly says, "that the Logos, the immortal God, took "a mortal body and human soul;" and that "Jesus died to deliver men from their sins, "and for their justification^b." Again, "We "are enjoined to worship, not angels, but God, "through the living Logos, who is God^c." "To the people who sat in darkness and the "country and shadow of death a great light "arose; and that light was God Jesus^d." "Who can save the soul of man, and raise it "to God, except the Word, who is God; who "in the beginning was with God, and became "incarnate for the sake of those who were in "bondage to the flesh, and otherwise could not "behold him, that he might be received by "them as the Word who was with God and "who was God^e?"

Origen proceeds to assert the mixture of the human and the divine nature in Jesus. P. 135, 136.

^z Τις ὁ νῦν της τοιαυδε καθοδου τῷ Θεῷ;

^a Σῶμα θνητον και ψυχην ανθρωπινην αναλαβων ὁ αθανατος Θεος λογος.

^b Ὑπερ ἁμαρτωλων λεγεται παντα αναδεχθαι ὁ Ἰησους, ἰν' αὐτους ἀπαλλαξῇ της ἁμαρτίας, και ποιῇ δικαιοῦς. P. 170, 3.

^c Πασαν δεσιν, και προσευχην, και εντευξιν, και ευχαριστιαν, αναπεμπτεον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, δια του ἐπὶ παντων ἀγγελων ἀρχιερεως, ἐμφυχου λογου και Θεου. P. 233.

^d Τοις καθημενοις ἐν χωρᾷ και σκιά θανατου φως ανετειλεν, ὁ Θεος Ἰησους. P. 321.

^e Τις δ' ἄλλος σωσῃ και προσαγαγειν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ δυναται

In the eighth book the Author addressees in prayer God the Father and Son^f. Celsus objects to the Christians, that they worship two Gods; which, says Origen, he would not have done, if he had rightly understood that expression of Jesus, "I and my Father are one:" and the fact is, as we have shewn, that we worship one God, Father and Son^g: we swerve not to the worship of evil spirits, but we adore, with the most devoted supplication and homage, one God and one his Son, his word and image, offering to the Lord of all prayers, through his Only-begotten, who is a propitiator and intercessor for us, and as a High-Priest presents our offerings^h. Our Author proceeds to describe, in language which rivals the sublimity of Milton, the qualities of the Son of God, who is the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person, the emanation of his power, the pure stream of omnipotent ma-

την του ανθρωπου ψυχην, η ο Θεος λογος; οστις εν αρχη προς τον Θεον ων, δια τους κολληθεντας τη σαρκι, και γενομενοις οπερ σαφξ, εγενετο σαφξ, ινα χωρηθη υπο των μη δυναμενων αυτον βλεπειν, καδο λογος ην, και προς Θεον ην, και Θεος ην. P. 322.

^f Θεος δε και ο μονογενης αυτου λογος παρεςαι ημιν. P. 380.

^g Ένα ουν Θεον, ως αποδεδωκαμεν, τον πατερα και τον υιον δεραπευσμεν. P. 386.

^h Τον ένα Θεον, και τον ένα υιον αυτου και λογον και εικονα, ταις κατα το δυνατον ημιν ικεσαις και αξιωσεσι σεβομεν κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

jefty, the beam of eternal light, the unfullied mirror of God's energy and goodnessⁱ. He says, that the true offerings and dedications to God are the souls of men purified and moulded in conformity to the divine precepts, in justice, fortitude, temperance, piety, wisdom, and all virtues, after the example of the incarnate Jesus, who was the likeness of the invisible God, and was the only-begotten God^k. Origen by a peculiar expression terms Jesus Christ *αυτο-λογος, αυτοσοφια, αυτοαληθεια*^l.

In conclusion of this part of the subject, I wish to call your attention to some peculiarities in the character of Celsus. It appears that his religious professions, inconsiderable as they were, were insincere, and that he disbelieved the providence of God^m. He expatiates plausibly on the subject of universal toleration in religion, and recommends that all nations should observe, in divine worship, the creed and customs sanctioned by ancient practice in their own countriesⁿ. The inconsistency between these fair speeches and his inveterate malice against Jews and Christians is flagrant. He avows his preference of the Greek mythology, and even of the worship paid to brute

ⁱ P. 389.

^k *Εικόνα του Θεου του αορατου, τον μονογενη Θεον.* P. 389.

^l P. 135.

^m P. 248.

ⁿ P. 255.

deities in Egypt, above the reasonable devotion inculcated in holy Scripture°.

This miscreant, this tolerator of what is bad and persecutor of the good, is moreover a misanthrope. The virtuous engagements and rational enjoyments of life have no charms for him; and human nature is in his opinion depressed below the condition of beasts[¶]. He is also a coward of the worst kind; for he proposes to worship evil spirits, that they may not injure us, and to offer out of fear implicit submission to kings and those who are in authority[¶].

Such are the features of this ancient opponent of Christianity, drawn by his own hand. I leave my hearers to judge of the resemblance which modern Infidelity bears to this portrait. It is more pleasing to observe the strong contrast existing between this cold pufflanimity and faintheartedness, this prostration of soul, on the part of the Infidel, and the noble serenity of the Christian Father. Origen's pages manifest his constant cheerfulness, courage, and inward peace of mind. These are some of his sentiments: "If we die in the practice of piety and virtue, there is no more commendable exit from life". Christians fear not

° P. 258.

¶ P. 220, &c.

¶ P. 416, 420.

¶ P. 422.

“ demons, nor bad men, who have the spirit
 “ of Antichrist: they obey the laws, without
 “ adulation to persons in high stations; but
 “ they worship and honour with implicit ho-
 “ mage only God and his Son. We are by
 “ nature,” he says, “ corrupt, and born to sin,
 “ (*προς το ἁμαρτανειν πεφυκαμεν**,) but by the grace
 “ of God and the mediation of his Son human
 “ nature may become united to the Deity†.”
 I wish particularly to notice the eighth book,
 which concludes with an animated description
 of the character of a Christian, who is happy
 in himself and useful to the world; and with
 the Author’s anticipation, in prospect, of the
 glorious effects which will attend the promised
 diffusion of Christianity through the whole
 world.

The writings of St. Cyprian come in the
 last place under our review, and with peculiar
 claims to attention; for since the Reformation
 the authority of this Father has been more
 appealed to than that of any other writer of
 the three first centuries, and there have been
 fourteen editions of his works, which are con-
 sidered both by Roman Catholics and Pro-
 testant Episcopalians as a bulwark against
 schism and dissent in the Church.

Cyprian, a native of Carthage and a teacher

* P. 151.

† P. 428.

of rhetoric, led in that city a life of plenty and splendor; and was converted to Christianity in his fiftieth year, A. D. 246. by the persuasion of his friend the presbyter Cæcilius^m, (whose name he afterwards took,) and by his own tacit reflections on the reformation of manners which prevailed among those who were baptized into the Churchⁿ. His first composition^o contains an effusion of the new

^m Cæcilius dying, left to Cyprian, who was also a married man, the care of his wife.

ⁿ Qui possibilis, aiebam, est tanta conversio; ut repente ac perneciter exuatur, quod vel genuinum situ materię naturalis obduruit, vel usurpatum diu senio vetustatis inolevit?—Dei est, Dei, inquam, omne quod possumus.
Cypr. ad Donatum.

^o Ad Donatum. “Te crede subduci in montis ardui
“verticem celsiorem, et ipse a terrenis contactibus liber,
“fluctuantis mundi turbines intueri. Cerne tu itinera
“latronibus clausa, maria obsessa prædonibus, cruento
“horrore castrorum bella ubique divisa; madet orbis
“mutuo sanguine. Jam si ad urbes—celebritatem offensis
“omni solitudine tristiores. Paratur gladiatorius ludus,
“ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet.—In
“theatris conspicias quod tibi et dolori sit et pudori.

“O si possis in illa sublimi specula constitutus oculos
“tuos inferere secretis, secludere cubiculorum obductas
“fores, et ad conscientiam luminum penetralia occulta
“resecare! aspicias ab impudicis geri, quod nec possit aspicere frons pudica. Videas quod crimen sit et videre;
“videas quod vitiorum furore dementes gessisse se negant,
“et gerere festinant.

“Sed Forum fortasse videatur immune. Incisæ sint
“leges licet duodecim tabulis, et publice ære præfixo

convert's feelings respecting the blessed influence of divine grace, and a glowing description of the vices and miseries of the world contrasted with that tranquillity which religion affords. He is represented as having shewn great esteem for the writings of Tertullian, which he was accustomed to ask for in this phrase, "Give me my master."

He gave away his estate to the poor; and during the two following years, his consistent strictness of life, and exemplary good conduct, raised him successively to the offices of Presbyter and Bishop. Within the same space of time were composed his treatise *De Vanitate Idolorum*, and his three books of Testimonies from Scripture against the Jews. From the former of these tracts I quote the following passage, as containing a just summary of the doctrines chiefly insisted on by all the Fathers. The Author, after exposing the weak and human foundation of heathen theology, and insisting upon the true doctrine of the unity of

"jura præscripta sint; inter leges ipsas delinquitur, inter
 "jura peccatur. Hasta illic et gladius, et carnifex præsto
 "est; ungula effodiens, equuleus extendens, ignis exurens;
 "ad hominis corpus unum, supplicia plura quam membra
 "sunt. Quis inter hæc vero subveniat? Patronus? Sed
 "prævaricatur et decipit. Judex? Sed sententiam vendit.
 "Una igitur placida et fida tranquillitas; una solida et
 "firma et perpetua securitas—si quis ad cælum oculos
 "tollat a terris."

God, thus explains the origin of revealed religion :

“ Quod vero Christus sit, et quo modo per
“ ipsum nobis salus venerit, sic est ordo, sic
“ ratio. Judæis primum erat apud Deum.
“ gratia. Sic olim iusti erant, sic majores
“ eorum religionibus obediebant. Inde illis
“ et regni sublimitas floruit, et generis magni-
“ tudo provenit. Sed illi negligentes, indisci-
“ plinati et superbi postmodum facti, et fiducia
“ Patrum inflati, dum divina præcepta con-
“ temnunt, datam sibi gratiam perdidērunt :
“ dispersi et palabundi vagantur, soli et cæli
“ sui profugi, per hospitia aliena jactantur.
“ Nec non Deus ante prædixerat fore, ut ex
“ omni gente et populo et loco, cultores sibi
“ allegeret Deus multo fideliores, et melioris
“ obsequii, qui, indulgentiam de divinis mu-
“ neribus haurirent, quam acceptam Judæi
“ contemptis religionibus perdidissent. Hujus
“ igitur indulgentiæ, gratiæ disciplinæque ar-
“ biter et magister, sermo et filius Dei mittitur,
“ qui per prophetas omnes retro, illuminator
“ et doctor humani generis prædicabatur. Hic
“ est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus et
“ gloria. Hic in virginem illabitur; carnem
“ Spiritu sancto cooperante induitur; Deus

P A translation of the quotations from Tertullian and Cyprian is given in the Appendix, N^o. II.

“ cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster,
 “ hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum, ho-
 “ minem induit, quem perducatur ad Patrem.”

The first book of Testimonies against the Jews contains proofs from Scripture, that the Jews have fulfilled their own prophecies in rejecting Jesus Christ: the second, that our Lord's nature was divine and human: and the third delivers precepts for the life and manners of Christians: the whole work consisting of little else than quotations from the Old and New Testament, which are so abundant as to afford almost sufficient authority for our present Canon. I wish to make a particular reference to the second book, as being not only a decisive statement of Cyprian's belief in our Lord's divinity, but also a clear and judicious collection of Scriptural authorities to this point.

“ In Genesi: Dixit autem Deus ad Jacob,
 “ Exsurge et ascende in locum Bethel, et fac
 “ illic altare illi Deo qui tibi apparuit, &c.”
 “ Item apud Esaiam: Tu es Deus et non scie-
 “ bamus, Deus Israel Salvator¹. Item apud
 “ eundem: Vox clamantis in deserto; parate
 “ viam Domini, rectas facite semitas Dei
 “ nostri². Item in Psalmo xlv. Thronus tuus
 “ Deus in secula seculorum: et lxvii. Cantate

¹ Gen. xxxv. 1.

² Esai. xlv. 14.

³ Ibid. xl. 3.

“ Deo, viam facite ei qui ascendit in occasum,
 “ Deus nomen illi. Item in Evangelio cata
 “ Johannem: In principio erat sermo, et sermo
 “ erat apud Deum, et Deus erat sermo. Item
 “ in eodem respondit Thomas Domino: Do-
 “ minus meus et Deus meus. Item Paulus ad
 “ Romanos: Christus secundum carnem, qui
 “ est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula.
 “ Item in Apocalypsi: Ego sum α et ω , initium
 “ et finis; et ero ejus Deus[†].”

Cyprian was advanced to the Episcopate
 against his own inclination, and by the general
 and earnest desire of the people of Carthage:
 but five Presbyters in the Church opposed his
 election, and afterwards gave him great un-
 easiness. In the following year, A. D. 250.
 the Decian Persecution raged; and Cyprian,
 who was often clamorously demanded by the
 heathen populace, that he might be thrown to
 the lions, withdrew, for the space of fourteen
 months, into a place of retirement so secret,
 that it never was discovered, even after the
 danger had passed away. During this secession,
 he continued with unabated vigilance to watch
 over the welfare of the Church: as he himself
 justly says, “Though personally absent, in spirit
 “ and in advice I was active among them.”
 Forty three Epistles still remain, written by

† Rom. ix. 3.

† Apoc. xxi. 6.

† Ep. xx.

him at this time, which consist of encouraging exhortations and directions to the Christian clergy and people of Carthage, respecting the conduct that became them under this severe visitation. Many of them are composed on the subject of the Lapsed, or persons who, to escape persecution, denied Christ before the Roman magistrate^x; and desiring afterwards to be restored to communion with the Church, prevailed upon confessors and martyrs to give them letters of reconciliation and peace (*libellos pacis*). Both confessors and delinquents insisted, in many instances, that these certificates were a sufficient absolution of the apostasy committed; that bishops and presbyters ought to grant readmission into the Church, upon the sole credit of this powerful testimony, without farther delay of inquiry or penitential discipline. This laxity Cyprian reprobrates, and represses the overbearing assumptions of those who would remit sins on so slight an authority: "The Martyrs are to "knock, but not break down the doors"."

Novatus, a Carthaginian Presbyter, irregularly appointed an assistant Deacon, without the consent of Cyprian, or any previous con-

^x In consequence they received the opprobrious names of *Sacrificati*, *Thurificati*, and *Libellatici*, from *Libellus*, a *Certificate*.

^y Ep. 30.

fultation with him, a man of a turbulent ferocious disposition, “a firebrand of sedition²,” fomented great internal troubles in the Church. About this time he went to Rome, and either instigated or promoted the clandestine and unlawful consecration of Novatian to the Episcopal See, in opposition to the truly appointed Bishop Cornelius.

Novatus and Novatian, men of congenial spirits, now set their partizans in array against their constituted spiritual governors; and in order to throw some creditable colouring over their cause, professed a zeal for rigid discipline, under the name of Cathari or Pure, and in a display of excessive austerities kept themselves from all society with the lapsed, and those who communicated with them.

These circumstances afford the best key to our Author's writings; and particularly will account for that vehement reprobation of schism which is thus expressed in his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*: “*Quisquis ab ecclesia*
“*segregatus, adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ec-*
“*clesiæ separatur. Nec pervenit ad Christi*
“*præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam. Alienus est,*
“*profanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non*
“*potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non ha-*

² Fax et ignis ad conflanda seditionis incendia. Pater fame mortuus, ab eo nec sepultus. Uterus uxoris calce percussus. *Ep.* 52.

“bet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam
“qui extra arcam Noe fuit; et qui extra eccle-
“siam foris fuerit, evadet. Dicit Dominus;
“Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de
“Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est,
“Et hi tres unum sunt. Et quisquam credit
“hanc unitatem de divina firmitate venientem
“sacramentis cœlestibus cohærentem scindi in
“ecclesia posse, et voluntatum collidentium
“divortio separari? Hanc unitatem qui non
“tenet, Dei legem non tenet, non tenet Patris
“et Filii fidem, et veritatem non tenet ad fa-
“lutem.”

After the death of the Emperor Decius, Cyprian left his retreat, and returned to Carthage A. D. 251, and held a Synod of Bishops for the purpose of taking into consideration the case of the Lapsed. This meeting condemned the severe and tyrannical measures of Novatus and Novatian, and maintained a moderate and equitable course towards the Lapsed, adapted to their several cases and degrees of delinquency. Our Author's treatise *De Lapsis* was probably delivered in substance at this Council, and afterwards transmitted to Rome. As it is in his best style, and relates to a subject of great importance in the third century, I venture to give a more extended account of it. The opening is in his usual florid and lively manner:

“ Pax ecce dilectissimi fratres, ecclesiæ red-
 “ dita est: et quod difficile nuper incredulis,
 “ ac perfidis impossibile videbatur, ope atque
 “ ultione divinâ securitas nostra reparata est.
 “ In lætitiâ mentes redeunt, et tempestate
 “ pressâ ac nube et caligine discussâ, tran-
 “ quillitas ac serenitas refulserunt. Dandæ
 “ laudes Deo.—Exoptatus votis omnium dies
 “ venit, et post longæ noctis horribilem tetram-
 “ que caliginem Domini luce radiatus mundus
 “ reluxit.”

He proceeds to congratulate in triumphant strains the glorious company of faithful confessors and martyrs: “ Circumstantium multitudo
 “ vestram gloriam sequitur, vestigia vestra co-
 “ mitatur. Eadem est in illis sinceritas cordis,
 “ eadem fidei tenacis integritas. Inconcussis
 “ præceptorum cœlestium radicibus nixos, et
 “ Evangelicis traditionibus roboratos, non præ-
 “ scripta exilia, non destinata tormenta, non
 “ rei familiaris damna, non corporis supplicia
 “ terruerunt.” In considering the reverse of this picture, his sorrow is intense: “ Has
 “ martyrum cœlestes coronas, has confessorum
 “ glorias spirituales, has stantium fratrum maxi-
 “ mas eximiasque virtutes mœstitia una con-
 “ tristat. Doleo fratres, doleo vobiscum, nec
 “ mihi ad leniendos dolores meos integritas
 “ propria, et sanitas privata blanditur; quando
 “ plus pastor in gregis sui vulnere vulneratur.”

He declares the great cause of defection to be the relaxation of discipline during a long period of tranquillity; yet that the Lapsed are without excuse, who disregarded the prophecies and denunciations of the Gospel: and he thus eloquently arraigns the conduct of those who sacrificed at heathen altars: “Nonne
 “sensus obstupuit, lingua hæsit, sermo defecit?
 “Stare illic potuit Dei servus et loqui et re-
 “nunciare Christo, qui jam Diabolo renun-
 “arat et seculo? Nonne ara illa, quo moriturus
 “accescit, rogos illi fuit? Quid hostiam tecum
 “miser, quid victimam supplicaturus imponis?
 “Ipse ad aras hostia, victima ipse venisti.
 “Immolasti illic salutem tuam; spem tuam,
 “fidem tuam funestis illis ignibus concre-
 “masti.”

He condemns the facility with which absolution was sometimes granted, and the too great reliance placed upon the authority of martyrs. “Nemo se fallat, nemo se decipiat.
 “Solus Dominus misereri potest. Veniam
 “peccatis quæ in ipsum commissæ sunt, solus
 “potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit,
 “qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro
 “peccatis nostris.”

He asserts that those persons need repentance also, who not having indeed sacrificed to idols, yet by some subterfuge or collusion obtained certificates, *libellos*, of their having denied

Christ. Finally, he expatiates on the discipline and efficacy of true repentance, exemplified in prayer, fasting, mortification, good works, and charity. “ Si precem toto corde quis faciat, “ si veris pœnitentiæ lamentationibus et lacrymis ingemiscat, si ad veniam delicti sui Dominum iustis et continuis operibus inflectat, misereri talium potest, qui et misericordiam suam protulit, dicens: Cum conversus ingemueris, tunc salvaberis; nolo mortem morientis, quantum ut revertatur et vivat.”

The firm temper of Cyprian's godly virtue had yet to encounter a new trial. In the course of the next year, A. D. 252. the plague raged at Carthage; and to this date may be assigned our Author's two treatises *De Mortalitate* and *De Exhortatione Martyrii*. In the first he exhorts Christians to bear troubles and calamities because they are foretold, and because the haven of security and happiness is in a future and eternal life. A want of patience and fortitude arises, he asserts, from a want of faith in God: death is indeed a king of terrors to the impious and the wicked: “ mori plane timeat, sed qui ex aqua et spiritu renatus, gehenæ ignibus mancipatur; mori timeat qui non Christi cruce et passione censeatur; mori timeat, qui ad secundam mortem de hac morte transibit.” But to Christ-

tians death is gain ; and the awful pestilence itself is a trial of their religious temper, an occasion for the practice of brotherly aid, compassion, and charity towards our neighbours, and for the suppression of our own bad passions, anger, pride, and avarice ; and for manifesting our resignation to God's will.

The conclusion of this piece is so truly in the genuine spirit of the Gospel, that I am desirous of giving it entire : “ Considerandum
 “ est, fratres dilectissimi, et identidem co-
 “ gitandum, renunciaſſe nos mundo, et tan-
 “ quam hospites et peregrinos iſthic interim
 “ degere. Amplectamur diem, qui assignat
 “ ſingulos domicilio ſuo : quis non peregre
 “ conſtitutus properaret in patriam regredi ?
 “ Patriam noſtram Paradifum computemus.
 “ Magnus illic nos carorum numerus expectat,
 “ parentum, fratrum, filiorum frequens nos et
 “ copioſa turba deſiderat, jam de ſua immor-
 “ talitate ſecura, et adhuc de noſtra ſalute ſo-
 “ licita. Ad horum conſpectum et complexum
 “ venire, quanta et illis et nobis in commune
 “ lætitia eſt ? qualis illic cœleſtium regnorum
 “ voluptas ſine timore moriendi, et cum æter-
 “ nitate vivendi ? quam ſumma et perpetua
 “ felicitas ? Illic Apoſtolorum glorioſus cohors :
 “ illic prophetarum exultantium numerus : illic
 “ martyrum innumerabilis populus ob certa-
 “ minis et paſſionis victoriam coronatus : tri-

“ *umphant*es illic virginēs : remunerati miseri-
“ *cordes* qui alimentis et largitionibus paupe-
“ *rum* justitiæ opera fecerunt : qui dominica
“ *præcepta* servantes, ad cœlestes thesauros
“ *terrena* patrimonia transtulerunt. Ad hos,
“ *fratres* dilectissimi, avida cupiditate propere-
“ *mus* : hoc propositum mentis et fidei domi-
“ *nus* Christus aspiciat, daturus eis gloriæ suæ
“ *ampliora* præmia, quorum circa se fuerint
“ *desideria* majora.”

The tract concerning Martyrdom is in the same pure strain of religious fortitude. The address to Demetrian, an obdurate hardened Infidel, is a bold and forcible remonstrance against idolatry, and the calumnies and persecutions to which Christians were subject ; and a call to their adversaries to turn to God with repentance and amendment of life. Public calamities happen not, says Cyprian, because ye have neglected the worship of your Deities, but because ye turn not to the true God. The close of this treatise puts in a strong light the doctrine of the Atonement :
“ *Quando* isthinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam
“ *pœnitentiæ* locus est, nullus satisfactionis ef-
“ *fectus* : hic vita aut amittitur aut tenetur :
“ *hic* salutis æternæ cultu Dei, et fructu fidei
“ *providetur*. In isto adhuc mundo manenti,
“ *pœnitentia* nulla sera est. Hanc gratiam
“ *Christus* impertit, hoc munus misericordiæ

“ suæ tribuit, subigendo mortem trophæo cru-
 “ cis, redimendo credentem pretio sanguinis
 “ fui, reconciliando hominem Deo patri, vi-
 “ vificando mortalem regeneratione cœlesti.
 “ Hunc, si fieri potest, sequamur omnes; hujus
 “ sacramento et signo censeamur; hic nobis
 “ viam vitæ aperit, hic ad paradisum reduces
 “ facit, hic ad cœlorum regna perducet.”

Cyprian's sentiments concerning the true evidences of sanctification, or inspiration of the Holy Ghost, are sufficiently manifest from his didactic treatises upon the Lord's Prayer, on good works and almsgiving, and the benefit of patience. They are also evident from the example of his own virtuous activity and unremitting beneficence^a; and from that serene and glorious fortitude with which he suffered martyrdom^b.

^a A. D. 253. Cyprian transmitted to the Numidian Bishops a collection (which Bishop Fell computes at near 800*l.* sterling) for the redemption of their Christian brethren from barbarian captivity. About the same time he wrote a letter to correct the error of some Pastors, who used water only at the celebration of the Eucharist. From this letter it is clear that communion in both kinds was then administered to the laity. Ep. lxiii. p. 148. His words are remarkable: “ Neque enim hominis consuetudo dinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem.”

^b Under the Emperor Valerian, A. D. 259. The reader is requested to consult Bishop Pearson's learned and elaborate Annals of the thirteen years of Cyprian's Christian life; and also Mr. Milner's animated account of this Fa-

In the latter years of his life Cyprian was engaged in a controversy on the subject of re-baptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. He strenuously maintained that baptism by heretics is invalid^c, and must therefore be repeated, in contradiction to the opinion of Stephen Bishop of Rome. Language passed between them which is to be lamented, and neither Prelate can be entirely exonerated from the charge of an imperious spirit in Church discipline: but the controversy may afford us some light in determining the definition of the Church of Christ, according to primitive authorities. This subject I purpose to treat in my two next discourses, with a view of ascertaining how far the writings of the Fathers of the first three centuries bear us out in rejecting the principles of union proposed by the Church of Rome, and by certain societies of Protestant Dissenters. We are desirous to shew, that the offence of those schisms, which unfortunately divide the members of the universal Church, and destroy the unity of Christ's visible body upon earth, cannot with justice be charged upon the Church of England.

ther, in the first volume of his History of the Church of Christ.

^c A Carthaginian Council of 66 Bishops declared the same opinion with Cyprian: and also held that baptism should be administered to new-born children.

For the present, let me conclude with an account of the martyrdom of St. Cyprian. A. D. 260. he had returned from exile, and lived in a garden near Carthage; when the persecution under Valerian began. It was particularly directed against Christians of rank, whether laymen or ecclesiastics; and Cyprian was recommended by his friends to seek safety in flight. He was sought for, and carried in a chariot between two officers to a village called Sextus, six miles from Carthage, by the seaside, where the Proconsul dwelt. He was guarded in a courteous manner, and his Christian friends passed the night in the street before his lodgings.

The next morning he was carried before the Proconsul, who interrogated him, "Are you Thascius Cyprian?" "I am." "Are you he whom the Christians call their Bishop?" "I am." "Our Princes have ordered you to worship the Gods." "That I will not do." "I pity your case; you would judge better to consult your safety, and not to despise the Gods." "My strength is Christ the Lord, whom I desire to serve for ever." "You must then be an example to the rest, that by the shedding of your blood they may learn their duty. Let Thascius Cyprian, who refuses to sacrifice to the Gods, be put to death by the sword." "God be praised,"

said the Martyr: and while they were leading him away, a multitude of people followed, and cried, "Let us die with our holy Bishop."

The soldiers led him into a plain surrounded with trees, and many climbed up to the top of them to see him at a distance. Cyprian took off his mantle, and kneeling down, worshipped God: he gave money to the executioners, and himself bound a napkin over his own eyes: a Presbyter and Deacon tied his hands, and the Christians placed clothes to receive his blood. His head was then severed from his body.

His biographer Pontius, who was also one of his Deacons, represents himself as wishing to have died with him; and as divided between the joy of his victorious martyrdom, and sorrow that himself was left behind.

SERMON VI.

1 PETER i. 18, 19.

Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers :

But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.

HAVING given some account of the writings of the Fathers of the three first centuries, and having extracted from them testimonies in proof of the Godhead and Atonement of Jesus Christ, and of the true criterion of sanctification; I purpose now to examine what light they throw upon the differences existing between our own Church and the Church of Rome on the one hand, and certain societies of Protestant Dissenters on the other. Although holy Scripture be the standard of orthodoxy, yet the authority of the Fathers must have great weight with impartial and reasonable men; and particularly, according to a judicious remark of M. Daillé, as a check to

the introduction of novelties in religion^d. If any Church maintain doctrines to be necessary to salvation, which are either slightly mentioned, or which are not found at all, in the primitive writings; a most cogent, not to say conclusive, negative argument will be formed against the verity of such doctrines. The Fathers were subject to errors and mistakes, but they both knew and taught all vital religious truths. Now in the Christian writings of the three first centuries there is a deep silence respecting adoration of the consecrated elements, the sacrifice of the mass, and auricular confession; which could not have been the case, had the sentiments of the Fathers on these points been in unison with the tenets holden at this day by the Church of Rome. On the subject of the Eucharist, expressions are used which imply a real divine presence; and such presence we readily admit: but this is not the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. A tribute of respect was occasionally offered to the memories and the relics of deceased saints and martyrs; but the language of this early period is far re-

^d The word of God is the law, *communes tabulæ*, of all Christians. The writings of the Fathers may serve to explain what is doubtful or obscure. It may also repress the audacity of vain teachers to shew, that their doctrines were unknown to the Fathers. *Daillé de Ufu Patrum*, p. 354, 360.

moved from those superstitious usages which prevailed in succeeding times. It countenances only that testimony of regard and veneration which the voice of nature seems to claim, and the customs of all countries in a greater or less degree exhibit, in memorial of great and good men; whom, though they are not, we regret with fond remembrance and involuntary attachment. In the records which we have been considering, I see no precedent for a belief in purgatory or for the invocation of saints and angels: and the abhorrence expressed in them of idolatry is so great, as to appear quite incompatible with any homage ascribing sanctity to pictures and images*.

Our argument is, that as the primitive Fathers either entirely pass over these things and others of the same kind, or lay no stress upon them, the primitive Church knew them not,

* “ Potes linguâ negasse, quod manu confiteris? verbo destruere, quod factô struis? Unum Deum prædicare, qui tantos efficis? verum, qui falsos? Facio, ait quidam, sed non colo. Quasi ob aliam causam colere non audeat, nisi ob quam et facere non debeat, scilicet ob Dei offensam utrobique. Imo tu colis, qui facis ut coli possint. Colis autem non spiritu nidoris, sed tuo proprio: non animâ pecudis impensâ, sed animâ tuâ. Dilegentia tua numen illorum est.” He adds, with his usual severity; “ Negas te quod facis colere? Sed illi non negant, quibus hanc faginatorem et auratiorem et majorem hostiam cædis, salutem tuam.” *Tertullian de Idololatria*, c. vi. See Appendix, N^o. III.

or laid no stress upon them; and consequently, so far from having that antiquity and importance which the Church of Rome attaches to them, they were in reality either invented or greatly magnified by superstition or imposture in after ages. The articles of Romish theology, which Protestants controvert, have not the sanction of Scripture, nor of the Fathers; they rest upon the authority of the Pope, of the Romish clergy, and of ecclesiastical tradition. We say that the peculiar doctrines, imposed by the Church of Rome on the Christian world, are innovations, unknown in primitive times; and farther, that the powers imposing them have usurped an authority not recognized by the precedents of antiquity.

I. With respect to the extent of the authority of the Bishop of Rome the Romanists themselves are not agreed. At the close of the sixth century Gregory, surnamed the Great, disclaims the title of Universal Bishop: his almost immediate successor Boniface accepted it with avidity. The Papal power, nourished by the superstition of the people and the policy of sovereigns, gradually increased in a barbarous and ignorant age. Documents, which claimed a primitive antiquity, were forged in the eighth and ninth centuries, for the purpose of establishing the supreme arbitrary jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over the whole body of

the clergy and Christian Church in all countries; and the enterprising spirit of some Pontiffs, aided by circumstances favourable to their ambition, claimed universal monarchy, and asserted that all states and kingdoms of the world were the patrimony of St. Peter, and subject to the dominion of his successors. These are some of the maxims of Pope Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, respecting the authority of the Pope:

“ Quod ille solus possit deponere Episcopos
“ vel reconciliare.”

“ Quod cum excommunicatis ab illo, inter
“ cætera, nec in eadem domo debeamus per-
“ manere.”

“ Quod unicum est nomen in mundo, *Papæ*
“ *videlicet.*”

“ Quod illi liceat Imperatores deponere.”

“ Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retrac-
“ tari; et ipse omnium solus retractare possit.”

“ Quod a nemine ipse judicari debeat.”

“ Quod Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit,
“ nec in perpetuum, Scriptura testante, errabit.”

“ Quod Catholicus non habeatur, qui non
“ concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ.”

“ Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos pot-
“ est absolvere.”

The words are faithfully extracted from the statement of Baronius, who concludes it with this cool observation: “ Hactenus Gregorius

“ de privilegiis Romani Pontificis atque Apostolicæ Sedis^f.” These same privileges Baronius laboured to uphold, even at the comparatively modern period of the sixteenth century : and both he and La Sponde, who abridged and continued his Annals, assert, that notwithstanding the acknowledged forgeries of Decretals and of the Donation of Constantine, the power of the Pope always was the same, and will remain the same, its foundation being independent of the authenticity of these documents. A similar spirit operated in the Council of Trent itself, where an orator openly maintained this doctrine : “ that the Pope, “ beginning from St. Peter, to the end of “ time was a true absolute monarch ; that his “ power and jurisdiction were full and entire, “ and to him the Church was subject, as she “ was to Jesus Christ^g.”

Undoubtedly these extravagant pretensions always met some resistance in the darkest ages, and they were opposed in the Council of Trent by the Prelates of France and Spain ; which two kingdoms never recognised the plenitude of Pontifical supremacy. Fleury, in his second Discourse upon Ecclesiastical History, candidly admits that after the first six

^f Annal. ad Ann. 1073. See Appendix, No. III.

^g Father Paul's Hist. book vii. f. 20.

centuries the best days of the Church had passed^h; and that the inordinate spiritual power of Popes and ecclesiastics, all their temporal jurisdiction and immunities, and in particular the violence of excommunication, were innovations of degenerate times: and what is particularly to be noticed by us, his proof that they were unknown to the primitive Church is drawn from the silence of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries on these points. Following this suggestion, let us be allowed to take our precedents from the first three centuries, a period still more remote and in doctrine more pure; and we doubt not that, upon this authority alone, we shall be able to confine the bishopric of Rome within comparatively narrow limits of domestic jurisdiction.

That the successors of St. Peter in the see of Rome had a primacy and preeminence of station conceded by the Christian Church, we wish not to deny. Such honour and dignity might at this day be given decently and properly in a general Council, and according to the rules of courtesy by which sovereign and independent princes settle among themselves their places of precedence; for where many equals meet together, one still must be fore-

^h Disc. 2. beginning, "Les beaux jours de l'Eglise sont passés." Tom. xiii.

most. But the matter contended for is not an empty, though honourable, title and distinction, but power. Yet Clement, Bishop of Rome, in his letter to the Corinthians, uses not one expressionⁱ that can by any force of construction be understood to proceed from a person invested with authority and lawful command. Ignatius delivers injunctions of obedience to Bishops so excessive that the terms are scarcely defensible; but they apply to the respective Pastors of each particular Church, and no allusion is made to a single Head of the Universal Church. It is worthy of observation, that in his Epistle to the Romans these recommendations of submission to the Bishop do not occur; and the Author, speaking of the forlorn state of his own Syrian Church, then bereaved of his superintendence, declares that God and Christ will be her Bishop.

In the writings of Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, I have not observed any mention of the Bishop of Rome, or of one Universal Bishop: neither do I find that the Romanists themselves adduce testimonies to this point from these authors. We repeat, that their silence is a strong argument:

ⁱ Irenæus (lib. iii. cap. 3.) says: *Ἐπεστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἰκανωτάτην γραφὴν Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρηνὴν συμβιβάζουσα.*
 “The Church at Rome wrote a very suitable letter to the
 “Corinthians, to promote peace.”

it is incredible, we may venture to say it is impossible, that so many primitive Fathers should have omitted to enforce the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, if they had considered it, in the light the Church of Rome does, as an essential article of Christian faith.

Irenæus has this passage: “ Ad hanc Ecclesiam (Romæ scilicet) propter potentiores principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam^k:” and he proceeds to observe, that the Apostles Peter and Paul, (not Peter only,) having laid the foundation of the Church, delivered the Episcopal administration to Linus, *Διὼν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχειρίσαν*. Now let the Romanists make the most they can of these expressions, they will not support the Papal power. Yet this is the strongest, the only passage in Irenæus to their purpose: and in opposition to it we have the example of the Author himself, who wrote a letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, expostulating with him for excommunicating those who differed from the practice of Rome, respecting the time of keeping Easter. Mark the language he uses: “ The Presbyters your predecessors” (he does not say Popes or even Bishops, but *οἱ προ σὺ προεσχημένοι*) “ communicated “ with the Pastors of parishes notwithstanding

^k Lib. iii. cap. 3.

“ a difference of opinion on this subject : neither did it occasion a disagreement between Polycarp, and Anicetus Bishop of Rome, who retained each his own sentiments without contention ; and Anicetus yielded to Polycarp the ministration of the Eucharist “ κατ’ ἐντροπην, as a mark of honour¹. ”

The testimony of Irenæus therefore, being not only single and vague and inconclusive in terms, but also contradicted and invalidated by his own practice and advice on another occasion, is a pillar altogether too feeble to sustain the superstructure of the Papacy. And the cause must therefore be hopeless of support from the primitive Fathers ; for the authority of Tertullian and Cyprian, the two remaining writers, makes, as we shall presently see, positively against any superiority of the See of Rome over the universal Christian Church.

The former of these Authors recommends, as a mode of refuting heresies, a reference to the doctrine inculcated in those Churches which were founded by the Apostles themselves : “ Proximè est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum ; si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum ; si

¹ Iren. Fragm. p. 466. Παρεχωρησε την ευχαριστιαν τῷ Πολυκαρπῷ, κατ’ ἐντροπην δηλονοτι.

“ autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde
 “ nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est^m.” The
 meaning clearly is; that all Churches of Apo-
 stolical institution were standards of orthodox
 doctrine. In another treatise the African Fa-
 ther blames the extravagant pretensions which
 began even then, it seems, to characterise the
 See of Rome: “ Audio etiam edictum esse pro-
 “ positum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex
 “ scilicet maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum di-
 “ cit; Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta
 “ pœnitentia functis dimitto. O edictum, cui
 “ adscribi non poterit bonum factumⁿ!” He
 proceeds to refute the right of remitting sins,
 claimed by Peter’s successors and the Church
 of Rome: “ Quis poterat donare delicta? hoc
 “ solius ipsius est. Quis enim dimittit delicta
 “ nisi solus Deus? Domini enim, non famuli,
 “ est jus et arbitrium, Dei ipsius, non sacer-
 “ dotis.”

^m Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. cap. 36.

ⁿ De Pudicit. c. 1. The words “ bonum factum” were
 prefixed to edicts: “ Bonum factum est, edicta ut servetis
 “ mea.” *Plaut. in Penulo.*

^o De Pudicit. c. 21, 22. “ Unde hoc jus Ecclesiæ usur-
 “ pes. Si quia dixerit Petro Dominus; Super hanc pe-
 “ tram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, tibi dedi claves regni
 “ cœlestis, vel, quæcunque alligaveris &c. idcirco præ-
 “ sumis et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem,
 “ id est ad omnem Ecclesiam Petri propinquam; qualis es
 “ evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentio-

The meaning of the word "auctoritas" in the former quotation receives explanation from this passage of St. Cyprian :

" Ac si minus sufficiens Episcoporum in
 " Africa numerus videbatur, etiam Romam
 " super hac re (the cause of the Lapsed) scrip-
 " simus ad Cornelium (who was then Bishop
 " of Rome) *collegam* nostrum, qui et ipse cum
 " plurimis coepiscopis habito concilio, in ean-
 " dem nobiscum sententiam pari gravitate et
 " salubri moderatione consensit. De quo tibi
 " necesse fuit nunc scribere, ut scias me nihil
 " leviter egisse, &c." The authority of the
 Bishop or Church of Rome was an authority
 of respect, of advice, of opinion, not of power.

Cornelius indeed, writing to Cyprian, uses these words: " Nec enim ignoramus unum
 " Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum,
 " quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum sanc-
 " tum, unum Episcopum in Catholica Ec-
 " clesia esse debere^q." And Cyprian in reply

" nem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem." He quotes St. Peter's speech, Acts xv. " Cur tentastis Dominum de
 " imponendo iugo, &c. Per gratiam Jesu credimus nos
 " salutem consecuturos. Hæc sententia et solvit quæ
 " omissa sunt legis, et alligavit quæ referata sunt. Adeo
 " nihil ad delicta fidelium capitalia potestas solvendi et
 " alligandi Petro emancipata."

p Cypr. Ep. lv. Antoniano.

q Ep. xlix. This is the language of the penitent followers of Novatian.

says: "Neque enim aliunde hæreses abortæ
 " sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quem inde
 " quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec
 " unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad
 " tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur?" But
 not to insist that some commentators apply
 these expressions to the particular Bishop of
 each separate Church, they prove, even in the
 papistical interpretation, no more than this,
 that the Bishop of Rome began in the third
 century to claim a supremacy, which the uni-
 versal Church had not allowed.

And in the same Epistle Cyprian reproves
 the audacity of some members of the Cartha-
 ginian Church, who appealed to Rome: "Post
 " ista adhuc insuper pseudoepiscopo* sibi ab
 " hæreticis constituto, navigare audent: et ad
 " Petri Cathedram, atque ad Ecclesiam princi-
 " palem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a
 " schismaticis et profanis literas ferre, nec cogi-
 " tare eos esse Romanos, &c. ad quos perfidia
 " habere non potest accessum." Notwithstand-
 ing this language of courtesy and respect, he
 takes care to assert the validity of his own in-
 dependent jurisdiction: "Cum statutum sit om-
 " nibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum,
 " ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est
 " crimen admissum, et *singulis pastoribus por-*
 " *tio gregis* sit adscripta, quam *regat quisque*

* Ep. lix.

* Fortunatus.

“ *ac gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino red-*
 “ *diturus; oportet utique eos quibus præsu-*
 “ *mus, non circumcurfare, nec Episcoporum*
 “ *concordiam cohærentem sua subdolâ et fal-*
 “ *laci temeritate collidere &c.*”

The same sentiments[†] were publicly and solemnly expressed by Cyprian at the opening of a Council holden at Carthage, A. D. 256, in the presence of eighty-seven African Bishops, their Priests and Deacons, and a multitude of Christian people, in these strong and unequivocal terms :

“ *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum*
 “ *se Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico ter-*
 “ *rore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos*
 “ *adigit; quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro*
 “ *licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium*
 “ *proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non pos-*
 “ *sit, quam nec ipse potest judicare. Sed ex-*
 “ *pectemus universi judicium Domini nostri*
 “ *Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potesta-*

[†] The same sentiments occur in Cyprian's treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*: “ *Quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem*
 “ *potestatem tribuat, ac dicat; Sicut misit me Pater, et*
 “ *Ego mitto vos &c.; tamen ut unitatem manifestaret,*
 “ *unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auc-*
 “ *toritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli,*
 “ *quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et*
 “ *potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ec-*
 “ *clesia una monstretur.*” For the translations see Appen-
 dix, N^o. II.

“tem et præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.”

These expressions probably pointed at Pope Stephen, who upon the question of baptism by heretics had shewn much arrogance and assumption of power: and stronger words could scarcely be used by a Protestant Bishop of the sixteenth century, in resistance to the encroachments of the Sec of Rome.

Observe the unvarying style of equality in the correspondence between Cyprian and the Roman Bishops: “Cyprianus Cornelio *fratri*, “Stephano *fratri*, salutem:” “Cornelius Cypriano *fratri*:” and the Clergy of Rome, in one Epistle^x, term Cyprian “Benedictum Patrem.” “Frater carissime,” (this is the address of Cyprian to the Roman Prelate,) “hortor te, et peto a te, ut quod per te ipsum “ut plurimum et cum honore facis, id ipsum “a me rogatus facias, scilicet ut hæc mea ad “te epistola florentissimo Clero, qui istic tecum “præsidet, et sanctissimæ plebi legatur.” And M. Daillé remarks upon this passage: “What “modern Bishop or Archbishop would write “thus to the Roman Pontiff; or if he did, “would not he consider himself most mildly “and mercifully dealt with, if such an unlucky epistle occasioned him no heavier pu-

^u P. 229.

^x Ep. viii.

^y Ep. lix. p. 139.

“ nishment than to be laughed at, and scorned
 “ as a man deprived of sense, and without any
 “ knowledge of the manners of the world *?”

From a general review of the early Christian writings we deduce an argument, which we think ourselves authorized in terming conclusive, against the Papal pretensions; positively, from the testimonies of Tertullian, and particularly of St. Cyprian; and negatively, from the silence of those Fathers, who could not but have known the lawful dominion of the Roman See, had it existed; and, upon every ground of reasonable probability, could not but have acknowledged and expressed their sense of it, not cursorily and equivocally, but in forcible terms. We see, that the very

* Dallæus, p. 343. Much stronger is the language of Firmilian, an eminent man, and Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in his Epistle, originally written in Greek, and translated by Cyprian: “ Ego juste indignor ad
 “ hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam,
 “ quod qui sic de Episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se suc-
 “ cessionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem funda-
 “ menta Ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias petras in-
 “ ducat &c.” Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 225. Ed. Pearl. And
 ibid. p. 220. “ Eos autem qui Romæ sunt non ea in om-
 “ nibus observare quæ sunt ab origine tradita, et frustra
 “ Apostolorum auctoritatem prætere, scire quis etiam
 “ inde potest, quod circa celebrandos dies paschæ, et circa
 “ multa alia divinæ rei sacramenta, videat esse apud illos
 “ aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia æqualiter,
 “ quæ Hierosolymis observantur.”

origin of the Church of Rome is in peculiar obscurity', much greater than that of many other Churches: nevertheless a place of precedence and preeminent rank is sometimes ascribed to the Bishop of the metropolis of the great empire. We perceive that after the second century he advanced his claims of superiority: but that he ever possessed any lawful power or jurisdiction over the whole Christian Church, either by consent of the governed or otherwise, during the three first centuries, we resolutely deny, certain of being contradicted and opposed, but without fear of confutation.

The authority of the Church of Rome is a hydra with many heads: if it be crushed in the person of the Pope, it still erects itself somewhere. If we listen to Fleury, and to some modern teachers, we shall conclude that the successor of St. Peter is invested with a primacy indeed, a supremacy of order, but perfectly innocent of all interference with temporal concerns; and moreover, "that it is no article of Christian faith to believe that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the

Mr Milner (Hist. of Church of Christ) observes, that this obscurity seems providentially appointed, as a check to the Papal usurpation.

“ faith : by consequence, Papal definitions or
 “ decrees, in whatever form pronounced, taken
 “ exclusively from a general Council or accept-
 “ ance of the Church, oblige none, under pain
 “ of heresy, to an interior assent.”

I will not now inquire whether the words
 “ interior assent” have a meaning, separate
 from outward practice ; nor will I stop to no-
 tice the notorious differences that exist be-
 tween the Italian theologians and other conti-
 nental Doctors, even on fundamental points,
 in that Church, which preeminently makes
 her boast that she teaches that, and that only,
 “ quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus
 “ creditum est :” differences however which
 cause her infallibility to wither in the root
 from which it sprang. Rather let us embrace
 any occasion for conciliation, and gladly ac-
 knowledge, to their honour and our cordial
 satisfaction, that there does exist, and has long
 existed, a distinction between Papists and mo-
 derate members of the Church of Rome.

But I cannot forbear observing, that the
 Creed, promulgated by Pope Pius the Fourth,
 A. D. 1564, agreeably to the suggestions of
 the Council of Trent, contains this clause :

^z See The Faith of Catholics, confirmed by Scripture
 and attested by the Fathers of the five first Centuries of
 the Church. Lond. 1813. By Messrs. Berington and Kirk.
 P. 178.

“ And I promise true obedience to the Bishop
 “ of Rome, Successor to St. Peter, Prince of
 “ the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.”
 This profession of faith apparently is binding
 on the consciences of all members of the Ro-
 man Catholic Church: and some obedience,
 the limits of which seem to be nowhere de-
 fined, is therefore acknowledged to the Pope.
 Notwithstanding all the deductions which we
 previously considered, the Pontiff still possesses
 not merely superiority of rank and title, but
 also power, real and absolute; real, because it
 claims obedience; and absolute, because it is
 unrestricted by any laws. And here is another
 instance of disagreement and contradiction
 among themselves, in a society of men, who
 in this respect are indeed like the rest of the
 world, yet have the vanity to proclaim that
 they always teach the same things.

II. To say no more, for the present, of the
 Pope individually; the Church of Rome, it ap-
 pears, still maintains that some human authority,
 either with or without the sanction of the So-
 vereign Pontiff, is invested with infallibility in
 religious matters. If this infallible authority rest
 in General Councils, do their decisions, we ask,
 bind all Christian Churches, those whose dele-
 gates are not present, who have received no
 summons requiring their attendance? During
 the first three centuries, there was not one

General Council: during the first three centuries, therefore, there was no infallible authority in the Church.

If we allow the Romanists more latitude, and conclude that, in their opinion, those definitions and decrees are of infallible authority, which, being suggested by a General Council, are approved by the Pope, and accepted by the Church: we still say, that there is not, in primitive antiquity, any precedent which attaches, in the remotest degree, any particle of superior power to the Bishop or Clergy of Rome. And we farther desire an explanation of the term "Church." For if by it be understood the whole body of Christian people, we readily grant that it might be both lawful and expedient for them to choose representatives, who in a general assembly should make laws for the better maintenance of religion through the Christian world. Laws so constituted, as they could not be rendered infallible decisions by any human authority, so neither would they require the sanction of any Pope or Prelate to enforce their obligation upon those, who by their delegates had consented to their enactment.

But it is very well known, that in Roman Catholic language, "the Church" means the Clergy, to the exclusion of the Laity, and in a particular manner the Clergy of the See of

Rome. The Clergy, having of their own authority elected themselves into the place of representatives of the whole Christian Church, promulgated their laws, during the reign of superstition and ignorance, under the penalty of everlasting destruction to those who observed them not. Is it surprising, that the tenor of those laws was in their own favour, that they by degrees exercised an absolute controul over men's consciences, amassed great wealth, and obtained an immunity from all civil jurisdiction? And we admit the probability that this predominance was productive of benefit to the world in a barbarous age, when ecclesiastics were the only men of peace and learning. But the question is not concerning the temporary expediency of clerical jurisdiction: what we deny is, that any man or body of men is invested, by divine appointment, with an infallible, indefectible authority. We distinctly challenge the Romanists to produce one single passage from Christian writers of the three first centuries, establishing such an authority, or that by which it is supported, the power of Christ's ministers to retain and remit, by their own absolute decision, the punishment of sin, temporary or eternal, which God has decreed. The Fathers could not have observed this silence, had their opinions been in unison with the doctrines of the Church of

Rome. Some positive testimonies of a directly contrary tendency have already been adduced on the subject of Papal authority ; which are *a fortiori* conclusive against the authority of an inferior Presbyter. Few words therefore on this point will suffice ; and the single evidence of St. Cyprian, who is of all the early Fathers the most strenuous defender of ecclesiastical rights and privileges. In his time, a blamable stress began to be laid on the merits and intercession of martyrs and confessors, as capable of being applied to compensate the offences of their weaker brethren : yet we have seen that Cyprian resolutely withstood the readmission, upon this ground, of the lapsed into communion with the Church. He therefore did not suppose that the punishment due to sin could be remitted by man : and he expressly says, “ Nemo se fallat, nemo se decipiat. Solus Dominus misereri potest*.”

* “ Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipsum commissæ sunt, solus potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris. Homo Deo esse non potest major ; nec remittere aut donare indulgentia sua servus potest, quod in Domino delicto graviore commissum est : ne adhuc lapsus et hoc accedat ad crimen, si nesciat esse prædictum ; Maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine*. Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est ; qui negantem negare se dixit, qui omne

* Jerem. xvii. 5.

Being pressed upon this point also, the Romanists have a way to escape. They make a distinction between doctrine and inferior matters. "It is no article of Catholic faith," say they, "that the Church cannot err, either in matters of fact or discipline, things alterable by the circumstances of time and place, &c. These things are no revelations deposited in the Church, in regard of which alone she

"*judicium de patre solus accepit. Credimus quidem posse apud judicem plurimum martyrum merita, et opera justorum; sed cum judicii dies venerit*, cum post occasum seculi hujus et mundi, ante tribunal Christi populus ejus astiterit. Cæterum si quis præpopera festinatione temerarius remissionem peccatorum dare se cuiquam putat posse, aut audet Domini præcepta rescindere: non tantum nihil prodest, sed et obest lapsis†.*"

Again: "Neque enim præjudicamus Domino iudicatu, quo minus si pænitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris invenerit, tunc ratum faciat quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum†." And, "Tum deinde quantus arrogantiae tumor est, quanta humilitatis et lenitatis oblivio, arrogantiae suæ quanta jactatio, ut quis aut audeat, aut facere se posse credat, quod nec Apostolis concessit Dominus, ut zizania a frumento putet se posse discernere, aut quasi ipsi palam ferre et aream purgare concessum sit, paleas conetur a tritico separare ||?"

* See Apoc. vi. 10. Although this passage may be interpreted to favour too much the doctrine of human merit, it is clearly opposite to the papistical tenets of confession, priestly absolution, indulgences, and purgatory.

† De Lapsis, p. 129. Ed. Pearl. See the latter part of the treatise to the same effect.

† Ep. iv.

|| Ibid.

“ has the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit^b.”

Such is the subtilty of men in defending their own conduct. Thus they say they teach: but who is there so simple in understanding, so unread in history, so inexperienced in the world, as not to know, that although her theology is capable of so much refinement, that it eludes discovery, and great pains and study are requisite to find the heart of it; yet the practice of the Church of Rome has been gross and palpable, suited to the apprehensions of the multitude, and in a spirit of absolute dominion over them. We know that obedience to the *discipline* of the Church was inculcated as necessary to eternal salvation; that the world was made to believe, that without Papal and priestly absolution God himself would not, could not remit sins; that the priest, putting aside “the precious blood of Christ,” offered “a redemption for sin with corruptible things, with silver and gold,” and “through covetousness with feigned words made a merchandise^c” of spiritual and heavenly bliss. Thus was it difficult, not for the rich, but for the poor, to enter into the king-

^b See The Faith of Catholics, &c. as quoted above, p. 154.

^c 2 Pet. ii. 3.

dom of heaven; who could not afford by charitable donations to obtain the prayers of good men, which might deliver their souls from the penalties inflicted upon sin in another world.

But all these things were corruptions and abuses of degenerate times. There is no danger of their recurring in an enlightened age: and the Church of Rome has in some degree reformed and purified herself from errors that had crept in. Gladly should we concede the truth of this statement, and accept it as a token of amity. Nevertheless, we are not to forget these variations in a society, which claims, what no other body of men does claim, an exclusive privilege of exemption from error.

Let it then be allowed that the doctrine of infallibility, as truly and moderately holden by the Church of Rome, is, that “ the Church, “ that is to say the Clergy, the Pastors of “ Christ’s flock, who are the body represent- “ ative, either dispersed or convened in Coun- “ cil, have a divine commission, not to frame “ new articles of faith, these being solely di- “ vine revelations, but to explain and define, “ what anciently was, and is, received and “ retained, as of faith, in the Church, when “ debates and controversies arise upon the sub- “ ject. These definitions in matters of faith “ only, and proposed as such, oblige, under

“ pain of heresy, all the faithful to a submission
“ of judgment^d.”

Without being much disposed to contention, we might still inquire the meaning of some expressions here used ; as, whether the voice of Christian Pastors be equally obligatory, under pain of heresy, both when they are dispersed and when they are assembled in Council ; whether the Council be unanimous or not : we might ask, if two Councils pronounce a different decision on the same point, whether the prescript of the more numerous body is to be obeyed. But we wish to avoid every appearance of cavilling : we acknowledge that here is not Popery, but Catholicism, according to the interpretation of Romanists ; that objectionable opinions have been so softened down, as to present but a slight partition between the Church of Rome and Protestantism. For we Protestants think that the Pastors of the Church have the office and ministry of explaining divine revelation, that is to say, holy Scripture, to the people : and that a Church has a right, certainly not to consign over to divine displeasure everlastingly, but yet to expel from her communion disobedient and refractory members.

The single difficulty therefore remaining is

^d See The Faith of Catholics, &c. p. 145.

concerning the words “ Divine revelations * ; ” by which term the Church of Rome understands, in addition to Scripture, traditions, calling them Apostolical traditions. We acknowledge that tradition is deserving of respect, and that many commendable usages have been preserved in the Church by tradition. But that doctrines and practices should be delivered down by oral unwritten testimony, we consider a circumstance, of proof decisive in itself, that they were not deemed of the highest importance, essential and indispensable matters of religion, by those who were directed by the Holy Spirit in writing the book of the New Covenant, which is the word of eternal life. St. John supposes that the world would not contain an account of all that Jesus Christ did ; signifying by this strong expression his reverence for every thing which appertained to the incarnate Redeemer : but he says also, “ these are written that ye might “ believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of

* Still “ peculiar powers, headship,” are ascribed to the Successor of St. Peter : (see Faith of Catholics, p. 155.) and by the Council of Trent, obedience is due to him. In the Prayer-books of the Church of Rome, an Anathema is delivered against those who do not receive the decrees of the Council of Trent. We are not blind to these impediments to concord, though we wish to make as light of them as truth and facts permit.

“ God; and that believing ye might have life “ through his name’.” The meaning of the Apostle plainly is, that it being inexpedient and impossible to put down in books all the exemplary things that were done and said during our Lord’s life, he had selected the most important Christian truths, what was sufficient, in point of doctrine and in point of practice, to lead men to salvation.

The Church of Rome is therefore in opposition to the Apostle, in maintaining “ all that, “ and that only to be of Catholic faith, which “ God has revealed, *and which the Church “ proposes to the belief of all*.” St. John declares, that if we believe the revelation of God, we may have life: and to this simplicity that is in Christ the Romanists want to add something of their own. What unreasonableness, in supposing that human supplements and explanations are of equal authority with Scripture; what profanation, in making the word of God only confirmatory^b of human doctrines!

Observe moreover how the argument runs in a circle: you are to believe in the traditions, because it is heresy to differ from the

^f John xx. 31.

^g The Faith of Catholics, &c. p. 1.

^h The Faith of Catholics, *confirmed* by Scripture. P. 1.

decisions of the Church, or Clergy; you are to believe that it is heresy to differ from the decisions of the Clergy, because such is the language of tradition.

Mark also another contradiction: the Church of Rome believes, that it is heresy to differ from the decisions of the body representative *only in matters of faith*; yet the body representative decides that the traditions are to be received, and the traditions relate chiefly to matters of discipline.

III. But our business now is with the authority of tradition in two ways: it is said that traditions, though not in Scripture, are to be obeyed as Scripture, under equal penalties for non-observance in both cases; and that Scripture is only to be understood in the sense given to it by tradition, and is therefore of no use without the collateral commentary of tradition. Do the Romanists ever seriously call to mind how the Jews by their commentaries, written and unwritten, obscured the old Law, and put aside its meaning; and, according to our Saviour's reproof, "made the word of God of none effect by their traditions?" Surely a little calm reflection would make them more cautious in advancing such overweening pretensions. With the brittle weapon of tradition they have contended against the divine armour of Protestantism, against the letter of

the word of God, and against reason, which is his gift.

Postquam arma Dei ad Vulcania ventum est,
Mortalis mucro, glacies seu futilis ictu
Diffiluit.

The sovereign authority of the Bishop and Church of Rome, the adoration of the eucharist, the sacrifice of the mass, the necessity of secret confession; these things and more of the same stamp, without a belief in which the Romanists think there is no salvation, are not in Scripture, are not in the early Fathers. The verity of them depends solely upon the evidence of oral, unwritten tradition; a testimony respectable indeed in some cases, where the point at issue is not of essential moment, where other proofs are wanting; but still a testimony so fleeting, vague, and unsatisfactory, that in contracts and common concerns of life no man relies on it; that among barbarous nations, ignorant of the art of writing, it has always been customary, in transactions of magnitude, to use some circumstances of visible ceremony, to set up some memorials, which, being permanent objects of sense, might strengthen and correct the impressions of doubtful rumour. And God himself has twice distinguished his revelations from idolatrous superstitions by the solemnity of a written covenant: neither can it be believed that

out of that covenant the Almighty would suffer some particulars to slip, as by inadvertence, which are of essential consequence to the eternal happiness of human creatures¹.

At the beginning of the Reformation there can be little doubt that, in common opinion, all the great articles of faith propounded by the Church of Rome were contained, if not in Scripture, at least in the writings of the Fathers. When it was discovered that the primitive documents were not only not favourable to her peculiar doctrines, but repugnant to them, then did that Church, from an unwillingness, natural to all men, to renounce wealth or power or any thing once possessed, lean, as a last support, upon the reed of oral tradition.

Now her labour is to support the credit of oral tradition, by the authority of the ancient Christian Fathers. And no doubt they do support its credit; but with these material deductions: the tradition which the Fathers uphold is, as we have before said, silent upon many points which the Romanists deem essential; and so far from ranking oral traditions upon an equality with Scripture, they only appeal to them incidentally. In the writ-

¹ *Literæ sunt una custodia fidelis memoriæ rerum gestarum. Livius, lib. i.*

ings of the Fathers therefore, traditions are not the same in kind with those of Rome: nor is their authority exalted to the same degree of estimation.

Moreover, some primitive Fathers committed to writing those oral traditions which they deemed important. Eusebius relates, that this was the case with Ignatius^k: Irenæus in some instances did the same: and the voluminous treatises of Clement of Alexandria are avowedly a repository of materials which he had collected from persons whom he thought good and worthy of credit, and with a particular regard to Apostolic traditions. It might perhaps safely be affirmed, that these Authors wrote down, if not all things of this kind which were of importance, at least all that they thought worthy of being transmitted to posterity: and therefore, what was oral tradition, is now to be sought for in their writings. Eusebius^l indeed tells us, that Pa-

^k Euseb. l. iii. c. 36.

^l But Irenæus brings forward in strong terms the Apostolic traditions, and the doctrines taught in Churches which had a regular succession of Pastors from the Apostles, in order to confute the Gnostics. It is very true: the Gnostics, finding that the Scriptures could by no means be made to support their peculiar tenets, rejected them on the plea of inaccuracy, and appealed to the "living voice" of tradition. Irenæus therefore shews that the tradition of the best-established Churches is, no less

pias, an Apostolic Father, made it his particular business to collect traditions; and he at the same time describes him as a man injudicious and of weak understanding. I see not the least reason to doubt that all traditions of real value are inserted in the writings of the

than Scripture itself, in opposition to the Gnostic opinions. Irenæus adduces tradition in confirmation of Scripture: the Church of Rome quotes Scripture as subsidiary to tradition.

It is also true that Tertullian declares Apostolic tradition to be the rule, the prescription*, for confuting heretics. He does so for this reason: the Gnostics corrupted Scripture by mutilations and additions, and Tertullian concludes that the way of discovering which party possesses really the Scriptures in genuine simplicity is, by consulting the doctrine and tradition of those Churches which were of Apostolic establishment. In the same manner we now derive the canon of Scripture from the writings of orthodox Fathers. Before these writings existed, in the earliest times, no doubt oral tradition supplied their place.

In another treatise† Tertullian maintains the authority of unwritten traditions, but with these express qualifications; viz. that in cases where the written law is silent, tradition, confirmed by reason and sanctioned by unvarying custom, avails. If there be no statute to the point, the common law determines the matter. "Consuetudo autem," these are his words, "etiam in civilibus rebus suscipitur, cum deficit lex: nec differt Scripturâ a ratione consistat, quando et legem ratio commendat." And this is the very opinion of Protestants respecting ecclesiastical traditions.

* Tertull. de Præscript. adverf. Hæret.

† De Corona Militis.

primitive Fathers; and it is a confirmation of this opinion, that Dr. Lardner has traced through the writings of the Fathers that canon of the books of Scripture, the truth of which the Church of Rome establishes on tradition.

The transcendent veneration which the Fathers paid to Scripture, beyond all other sources of doctrine, is evident from this circumstance; that the writings of Irenæus, of Tertullian, and in particular of Cyprian, contain quotations from almost all the books in the Bible which are now of canonical authority. This last Father, who, it should be remembered, is a most strenuous defender of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, uses these words, with a reference to the customs of particular Churches: "Proinde
" frustra qui ratione vincuntur, consuetudinem
" nobis opponunt; quasi consuetudo major sit
" veritate, aut non id sit in spiritalibus sequen-
" dum, quod in melius fuerit a sancto Spiritu
" revelatum^m."

^m Post inspirationem et revelationem factam, qui in eo quod erraverat, perseverat prudens et sciens sine venia ignorantiae peccat: præsumptione enim atque obstinatione quadam nititur, cum ratione superetur.

Nec quisquam dicat, Quod accepimus ab Apostolis, hoc sequimur; quando Apostoli non nisi unam Ecclesiam tradiderunt. Quare rejectis humanæ contentionis erroribus ad Evangelicam auctoritatem atque ad Apostolicam traditionem sincerâ et religiosâ fide revertamur. *Ep.* lxxiii. p. 203.

A still more decisive testimony to the same point occurs in a letter written by this Father, upon the following occasion: Cyprian, together with a numerous Council of assembled Bishops, had decreed heretical baptism to be void; and this their sentence Stephen Bishop of Rome condemned, and wrote to Carthage upon the subject. Cyprian sends to one of his brother Bishops in Africa Stephen's letter, that he might more fully perceive, as he says, the errors which it contains. "Nam inter
 " cætera vel superba, vel ad rem non perti-
 " nentia, vel sibi ipsi contraria, quæ imperite
 " atque improvide scripsit, etiam illud ad-
 " junxit, ut diceret: Si quis ergo a quacunque
 " hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur nisi
 " quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur
 " in pœnitentiam." The Bishop of Rome's opinion is, that the baptism of all heretics is valid, and he would have no innovations upon tradition. No innovations upon tradition! Cyprian repeats the words to his friend Pompeius: Whence is this tradition? Is it in the Gospel, or in the Apostolical writings? "Unde
 " est ista traditio? utrumne de Dominica et
 " Evangelica auctoritate descendens, an de
 " Apostolorum mandatis atque Epistolis ve-
 " niens? Ea enim facienda esse quæ scripta

ⁿ Ep. lxxiv. Pompeio:

“ sunt, Deus ipse testatur. Josh. i. 8. Item
 “ Dominus Apostolos suos mittens, mandat
 “ baptizari gentes, et doceri, ut observent om-
 “ nia quæcunque ille præcepit. Si ergo aut
 “ in Evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum
 “ epistolis aut actibus continetur; observetur
 “ divina hæc et sancta traditio.” He main-
 tains, that, by leaving the letter of Scripture,
 there is danger of falling into an observance
 of bad and heretical traditions. “ Quæ ista
 “ obstinatio, quæve præsumptio humanam tra-
 “ ditionem divinæ dispositioni antepondere, nec
 “ animadvertere, indignari et irasci Deum, quo-
 “ tiens divina præcepta solvit et præterit hu-
 “ mana traditio.” He quotes the words of
 Isaiah^a, and of our Saviour^o, In vain ye serve
 me, teaching the commandments and doctrines
 of men: ye forsake the commandment of
 God, that ye may establish your own tradi-
 tions.

Such is the connection that has always sub-
 sisted between the obligation of traditions and
 the usurpations of the see of Rome: and an
 uniform resistance was exerted against both in
 the early Church.

It is manifest that the rescript of Stephen
 was considered by foreign Churches an act of
 unlawful aggression; and that the great stand-

^a Isa. xxix. 13.

^o Mark vii. 13.

ard of orthodoxy acknowledged by Cyprian was holy Scripture^p.

My deliberate opinion is, that the primitive Christian writings afford a conclusive confutation of the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. She teaches that there are certain divine revelations, in addition to Scripture, without a belief in which there is no salvation: the early Fathers are silent on the subject of these revelations. She teaches that they have been deposited in the Church by regular succession of oral tradition: we find not that the Fathers acknowledge such authority of oral tradition. These revelations and

P Again he says :

Nec consuetudo quæ apud quosdam obrepserat, impedire debet quo minus veritas prævaleat et vincat. Nam consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est. Propter quod relicto errore sequamur veritatem; quam veritatem nobis Christus ostendens, in Evangelio suo dicit: Ego sum veritas.

Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus. Si canal is aquam ducens subito deficiat; nonne ad fontem pergitur? ut ratio defectionis noscatur &c.? Quod et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta divina servantes; ut si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas; ad originem Dominicam et evangelicam, et Apostolicam * traditionem revertamur: et inde surgat actus nostri ratio, unde et ordo et origo surrexit.

* It is certain that Cyprian meant something else than the tradition proposed by the Church of Rome: neither did he comply with Stephen's rescript.

this authority therefore cannot possess the essential importance, and the primitive antiquity, which the Romanists ascribe to them: they do not belong to the Church of Christ, but are a visionary unsubstantial fabric of human contrivance.

The peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome are not in the writings of the Christian Fathers: and we earnestly invite the members of that communion, Clergy and Laity, to examine these primitive documents with care and impartiality. We doubt not that the result of such an investigation will be, a conviction, that the Church of England has the best claim to consistency, in teaching "what Christians, in all ages and countries, have uniformly believed."

Still the Church of Rome will assert, that our Lord founded, and promised to perpetuate to the end of time, a visible, infallible, indefectible authority; from whose decisions, in matters of doctrine, it is heresy to differ. A better opportunity will occur for stating a more sound and true definition of Christ's Church: at present it is sufficient to remark, that this tenet of the Romanists is contradicted and annulled by facts and by their own practice. Anicetus and Stephen, Bishops of Rome, differed from Polycarp, an Apostolic man, and from Cyprian, in a matter of faith. The

Church of Rome dares not affirm that Cyprian and the African Bishops his colleagues, their Clergy and their flocks, were guilty of heresy, which implies excommunication from the body of Christ. The Church of Rome, more laudably than consistently, has canonized St. Cyprian: and in this instance, and in many others, where Popes^a and General Councils have opposed the decrees of other Popes and of other General Councils, she has, if the expression may be used, uncatholicized herself, according to her own definition of the faith of the Universal Church.

In conclusion, we apply to the Romanists the words of Cyprian, and exhort them to leave human errors and contentions, and to return to the simple authority of the Gospel, and of the Fathers, whose writings are to us Apostolical traditions. We cease not to hope, that a better spirit may yet abate those arrogant pretensions, and retrench those superstitious usages, which they attempt not to defend by Scripture or by reason, and which are only sanctioned by custom more inveterate than found^r.

^a See Appendix, No. IV.

^r “ If any one of all our adversaries (the members of the Church of Rome) be able to avouch any one of all these articles, by any such sufficient authority of Scriptures, Doctors or Councils, as I have required, as I

"said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield
 "unto him and to subscribe. But I am well assured that
 "they shall never truly be able to alledge one sentence.
 "And because I know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye
 "haply should be deceived.

"All this notwithstanding, ye have heard men in times
 "past alledge unto you Councils, Doctors, antiquities,
 "successions, and long continuance of time to the con-
 "trary. And an easy matter it was so to do, especially
 "before them, that lack either leisure or judgment to ex-
 "amine their proofs. On a time Mithridates, the King
 "of Pontus, laid siege to Cyzicum, a town joined in
 "friendship to the city of Rome. Which thing the Ro-
 "mans hearing, sent out a Gentleman of theirs, named
 "Lucullus, to raise the siege. After that Lucullus was
 "within sight of the town, and shewed himself with his
 "company upon the side of an hill, thence to give cou-
 "rage to the citizens within, that were besieged; Mithri-
 "dates, to cast them into despair, and to cause them the
 "rather to yield to him, made it to be noised, and bare
 "them in hand, that all that new company of soldiers
 "was his, sent for purposely by him against the city.
 "Notwithstanding all which the citizens within kept the
 "walls, and yielded not. Lucullus came on, raised the
 "siege, vanquished Mithridates, and slew his men. Even
 "so, good people, is there now a siege laid to your walls,
 "an army of Doctors and Councils shew themselves upon
 "an hill: the adversary that would have you yield bear-
 "eth you in hand, that they were their soldiers and stand
 "on their side. But keep your hold, the Doctors and old
 "Catholic Fathers, in the points that I have spoken of,
 "are yours; ye shall see the siege raised, ye shall see
 "your adversaries discomfited and put to flight." Camp-
 bell's Jewel, 1813. p. 46. and 47. of Bp. Jewel's famous
 Sermon, preached at Paul's Cross, in the year 1560.

SERMON VII.

I COR. i. 12, 13.

Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ.

Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?

THE Church of England finds herself exposed to opposition from other Christian societies besides the Church of Rome. Early in the sixteenth century there were persons who, in the language of that time, wished "to reform reformation, and to whet the knife till no steel was left." The fact, that our Church has always pursued a middle and moderate course between two opposite extremes, is one great presumptive proof in favour of the justness of her principles.

We maintain, that religious doctrines, which are not in the writings of the primitive Fathers, cannot be considered essential articles of Christian faith; but are in reality innovations, and rest solely upon human authority. Upon this principle, an attempt was made, in a former Discourse, to refute the peculiar inordinate claims of the Church of Rome: and I

mean now to take the same ground, in examining the tenets of certain Protestant Dissenters in our country. This common appellation includes men who hold very different theological opinions; most of which are plants of foreign extraction, and not natives of our soil.

I. First in order of time and in importance are the Presbyterians, or followers of Calvin. Their system of divinity has existed in England since the reign of Elizabeth: and its chief peculiarities are, in doctrine, an assertion of divine absolute decrees; and in discipline, a rejection of episcopal government.

The subject of predestination or the divine decrees at present agitates our Church more than any other point of theological controversy; but as it has been treated recently and ably^a, and as in one publication^b particularly the sentiments of the Fathers upon it have been industriously and fully collected, it is unnecessary, and would in me be presumptuous, to enlarge on this topic. The Fathers of the three first centuries appear to me to be unanimous in stating that all goodness is from God, and that without divine grace no man can have faith, hope, or charity, or attain eternal salvation: they also appear to me to be unanimous in stating, that every man possesses a

^a By Mr. Mant, Bampton Lecturer for the year 1812.

^b By the Bishop of Lincoln.

freedom of action, that he is not a slave to uncontrollable destiny, but is master of himself, to choose good or evil, life or death; and that without this liberty virtue and vice would be mere names. If there be a seeming or a real inconsistency between these two statements, it must be attributed to the nature of the subject itself; "in which there is," to use the words of Hooker, "a gulf, which while we live we shall never fathom." I have no doubt that the Fathers thought that "God our Saviour" would have all men to be saved, and to come "unto the knowledge of his truth." 1 Tim. ii. 4. And let it be remembered, that it was not the promulgation of a contrary tenet which rendered Calvin's name celebrated, but the ability, learning, zeal, and severe virtue of Calvin gave currency to a doctrine which he himself calls horrible.

Modern Calvinism may indeed be traced to another source besides the fountain of dissent at Geneva. Following the theology of St. Augustin, and in opposition to the principal error of the Roman Church, which consisted in attributing a saving and meritorious efficacy to human works, some German Reformers said, that original sin was "the substance of human nature." This opinion is not countenanced

* This was the case with Flaccius, one of the Magdeburgh Centuriators. See Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 334.

by the Fathers: they continually mark the distinction between the Christian notions of God's providence, and that necessity of destiny which was believed both by Pagans and Gnostics; and they teach that, as man cannot be justified and saved without divine grace, so on the other hand he is not a mere machine, but has power to cooperate with this grace, or to reject it. The whole Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians is an exhortation to Christians, that being justified by faith, they should, by obedience to the motions of the Holy Ghost, attain salvation. Justin Martyr makes frequent use of the term *αυτεξουσια*^b, as applied to man's choice of good and evil; and all succeeding Fathers use phrases of the same import. Those who believe that human nature is totally and entirely corrupt, consider regeneration to be an instantaneous sensible change, which, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, makes them vessels of mercy who were before vessels of wrath, and instead of that evil to which they were before unceasingly and unavoidably inclined, causes them to follow after and take delight in all goodness. And an obvious corollary of this extreme doctrine

^b Mr. Milner (Hist. of the Church of Christ) calls this sentiment of Justin Martyr, a foreign plant in Christian ground. Justin's thoughts were, I believe, those of the Apostle, Rom. ii. 14, 15. and Ephes. v. 14, 17.

is Antinomianism ; and an opinion, easily engendered in minds, neither strong by natural capacity, nor regulated by judicious education, that all their desires are impulses of the Holy Ghost. They look back with mixed compassion and horror upon their own former state, and the state of all those who are not elevated to the same spiritual eminence with themselves. They imagine themselves to be the only temples of the Holy Ghost, while the rest of mankind walk in darkness, error, and sin ; and that, by some sudden process of metaphysical alchemy, they are transmuted from nominal to real Christians. I do not see how these opinions differ, in practical effect, from the errors of the Gnostics, who supposed themselves essentially superior to other men, and freed from the power and guilt of sin. In opposition to these unfounded pretensions Irenæus teaches^c, that our earthly sojourn is a state of constant probation and trial, and that the proof of our sanctification is not the strength of internal persuasions, but a growth in grace, and progressive improvement. He says, that the wisdom and goodness of God are shewn, by his dealing with men according to the weakness of their nature, and leading them, step by step, to perfection : so that

^c Lib. iv. c. 75, 76.

man may gradually, and by a certain proper discipline, be moulded into the image of God, according to the will of the Father, the ministration of the Son, and the nourishment of the Holy Spirit^d.

^d The uncreated God alone is perfect : but it is necessary that man, who has a beginning of being, should, after the first gift of existence, grow in grace and strength, should increase and be confirmed in virtue, before he can enter into glory, and behold his Maker. For this purpose he is endued with a knowledge of good and evil. “ Bonum
“ est autem obedire Deo, et credere ei, et custodire ejus
“ præceptum, et hoc est vita hominis : quemadmodum
“ non obedire Deo, malum ; et hoc est mors ejus. Mag-
“ nanimitatem igitur præstante Deo, cognovit homo, et
“ bonum obedientiæ, et malum inobedientiæ, uti oculo
“ mentis utrorumque accipiens experimentum, electionem
“ meliorum cum judicio faciat. Oportet te quidem primo
“ ordinem hominis custodire, tunc deinde participare glo-
“ riæ Dei. Præsta autem ei cor tuum molle et tractabile,
“ et custodi figuram, qua te figuravit artifex, habens in
“ temetipso humorem, ne induratus amittas vestigia digi-
“ torum ejus. Facere proprium est benignitatis Dei ;
“ fieri autem proprium est hominis naturæ. Si igitur tra-
“ dideris ei quod est tuum, id est fidem in eum et subjec-
“ tionem ; percipies ejus artem, et eris perfectum opus
“ Dei. Si autem non credideris ei, et fugeris manus
“ ejus, erit causa imperfectionis in te qui non obedisti, sed
“ non in illo qui vocavit. Ille enim misit, qui vocarent
“ ad nuptias ; qui autem non obedierunt ei, semetipsos
“ privaverunt regiâ cœnâ.”

Again the freedom of man's agency is thus unequivocally expressed : “ Qui abstiterunt a paterno lumine, et
“ transgressi sunt legem libertatis, per suam abstiterunt
“ culpam, liberi arbitrii et potestatis suæ facti. Deus au-

In the sixteenth century, the controversy of our Church with the Calvinists turned upon matters of discipline, rather than of doctrine. Now that the epidemical fervour of prejudice against Episcopacy has subsided, I believe it is generally acknowledged, that those Churches which discard the very name of Bishop cannot be modelled after the primitive establishment. The name implies the office: and unless an appropriate function had been annexed to it, the term Bishop would not have been introduced into the early Church, for the same reason that it is omitted among the Presbyterians. Ignatius in his Epistles dwells, more than on any other subject, upon the duty of subjection to spiritual superiors: he always speaks of the Bishop in the first place, and compares his presidency to that of God^e and of Jesus Christ; while he considers that the Presbyters supply the office of Apostles, and the Deacons fulfil

“tem omnia præsciens, utrisque aptas præparavit habitationes; eis quidem qui inquirunt lumen incorruptibilitatis, et ad id recurrunt, benigne donans hoc quod concupiscunt lumen; aliis vero id contemnentibus, et avertentibus se ab eo, et id fugientibus, et quasi semetipsos excæcantibus, congruentes lumini adversantibus præparavit tenebras; et his qui fugiunt ei esse subiecti, convenientem subdidit pœnam. Subjectio autem Dei requietio est æterna.” *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 75, 6.

^e Ad Magnes. f. 6. Ad Trallienf. f. 3. “Let nothing be done in ecclesiastical concerns without the Bishop.” Ad Smyrn. f. 4.

an inferior ministry. Irenæus, mentioning those Churches which had a succession of Ministers from the Apostles, enumerates one Bishop to each Church, though it is certain there were many Presbyters in each Church; and the obvious inference, from his silence concerning them, is, that their authority was of an inferior kind. Tertullian observes: “Baptismum
 “dandi habet jus Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri
 “et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi aucto-
 “ritate^f.” Clement of Alexandria mentions the three ecclesiastical orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons^g. But of all the primitive writers Cyprian’s testimony is the fullest on this subject: we have seen that he never allowed any jurisdiction of one Bishop over other Bishops, and his testimony is equally clear and strong in support of the separate power of each. He writes thus to some among the lapsed, who had arrogated to themselves the title of the Church: “Per temporum et suc-
 “cessionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio, et
 “Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super
 “Episcopos constituatur; et omnis actus Ec-
 “clesiæ per eisdem præpositos gubernetur^h.”

^f De Baptismo.

^g Strom. lib. vi. Αἱ ἐνταυθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαι ἐπισκοπῶν, πρεσβυτέρων, διακονῶν, μνημῆαται οἶμαι ἀγγελικῆς δόξης.

^h Ep. xxxiii.

And he reprobates the conduct of those who opposed another Bishop to Cornelius in these words: "Me pectoris mæstitia perstringit, cum vos comperissem contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra Evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem, alium Episcopum fieri consensisse, id est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, Ecclesiam aliam constitui¹." Again: "Aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub Antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicant^k." An African Bishop complained to Cyprian that one of his Deacons had treated his authority with contempt: this is an extract from his answer; "Tu quidem honorifice circa nos, et pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut mallet de eo nobis con- queri, cum pro Episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari^l;" and he pro-

¹ Ep. xlv.

^k Ep. xvi.

^l Ep. iii. The passage which follows is stronger: "Meminisse autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est Episcopos et Præpositos, Dominus elegit; Diaconos autem Apostoli constituerunt. Quod si nos aliquid audere contra Deum possumus, qui Episcopos facit, possunt et contra nos audere Diaconi, a quibus fiunt. Et ideo

ceeds to compare the acts of those who resisted their lawful Bishops to the rebellion of, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram.

Cyprian's treatise *Of the Unity of the Church*, is a defence of Episcopacy, the regular succession of which he considers the firmest bond of union among Christians; and he affirms the case of schismatics to be more dangerous than even that of the lapsed.

We find three orders of Clergy mentioned by the Fathers, and Bishops always in the first place; and the Presbyterians, who admit that there were two orders in the ancient Church, do thus grant themselves the principle of an inequality among Pastors. They no longer assert that their polity is exclusively "the Lord's discipline^m;" and seem to allow, that under a kingly government it may be expedient that the people should be yoked together, in proportion of rank, both in spiritual and secular employments. But our present business is not with the question of expediency: we maintain that the peculiar doctrines of Calvin are not in the

"oportet Diaconum, de quo scribis, agere audaciæ suæ
"pœnitentiam, et honorem sacerdotis agnoscere, et Epi-
"scopo præposito suo plena humilitate satisfacere."

^m See Professor Campbell's *Lectures*, (Edinburgh,) and the prototype Lord Peter King's "Enquiry into the Constitution &c. of the primitive Church." Bishop Skinner has published an able answer to Dr. Campbell, in a work entitled "Primitive Truth and Order." Aberdeen, 1803.

writings of the Fathers, and that Presbyterianism is an innovation. The mode of ecclesiastical government by Bishops has the sanction of Scripture and of antiquity : and experience proves it to be an efficient appointment for enforcing, by easy and honourable means, necessary authority.

We may felicitate ourselves that the virulent opposition which formerly assailed prelati- cal power has abated : but in its place have sprung up opinions, which contain the seeds of still more extensive disunion in the Church, and have a tendency to overthrow the order and function of the Clergy altogether. This species of dissent, like that of the Presbyterians, may be traced to a foreign origin.

II. In the year 1521 the German Anabaptists, upon the supposition that the kingdom of Christ or visible Church was an assembly of true and real saints, professed themselves to be a perfect Church under divine influence. They received their name from their baptizing again those admitted into their community. Among other fanatical notions, they held that every Christian was invested with power to preach the Gospel ; and that the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate was useless. The dreadful enormities and profligacy of this sect are a permanent warning to the world, that we should be upon our guard against the delusion

of magnificent and sanctimonious professions. The goodness of the tree is known by its fruits, not by an exuberance of leaves and blossoms.

The opinions of the Anabaptists were much moderated and softened by Menno, a native of Friesland; and they gradually amended them so far, as to establish the authentic marks of the true Church, in holiness of life and purity of manners. But this just principle was unfortunately perverted by their employing as a criterion of judgment, not the decision of right reason, nor the authority of Scripture, but the suggestions of fancy and opinion^k. They considered as sin the ordinary recreations of life, and despised all learning and philosophy.

It is easy to perceive a resemblance between the leading features of the Anabaptists, and of the English Independents of the sixteenth century. Since that time the pernicious errors of Socinus have found many followers, who are said to be tolerated in the communion of modern Baptists. It has been one of the principal objects of this Lecture to shew, that the writings of the primitive Fathers are decidedly adverse to Unitarianism. The names of Locke and Lardner will always command respect

^k Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 450.

from those who respect virtue, sincerity, and learning: and charity, which hopeth all things, may believe that those who lay hold of Christ only by the hem of his garment may be healed from the corruption of sin. But still the thought that God emptied himself of his nature, to become a ransom for the sins of men, appears to us at once so awful and at the same time so consolatory, an act which makes the attribute of mercy so triumphant over the just severity of God's wrath, a sacrifice of such inestimable lovingkindness, that we suppose the affections of the heart to be excluded from that system of theology, which treats the divine Atonement as a dry subject of cool reasoning. Unitarianism saps the vitals of Christianity, and reduces the Gospel to a pure code of morality: it is the great evil of the times in point of doctrine, and appears to have flowed from that laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, the dangers of which it is the particular object of this discourse to expose.

Many there are amongst us, under various denominations, who, like the German Anabaptists, from the plea of a devotion more spiritualized than ordinary, reject established forms and ceremonies, and deny the obligation of them upon their consciences. Under a supposition of their enjoying an extraordinary measure of divine inspiration, holy Scrip-

ture itself becomes of secondary importance in their eyes. It is an observation of M. Daillé, that the writings of the Fathers seem to have been providentially preserved, as a defence of Scripture, and against the introduction of unheard of mysteries and novelties of doctrine, which the weakness, imposture, or vanity of man may at any time obtrude upon the world, as necessary articles of faith. Of this description we consider that superstition, which, instead of following the appointed means of grace, the sacraments of the Church, and the regular ministration of the Clergy, relies upon inward persuasion and feeling, and some undefined assurance of salvation. We think that by thus establishing a supreme tribunal in the fancy and opinion of individuals, the law and order of society are dissolved, and there is a danger that the name and appearance of a Christian Church will be abolished.

The Romanists indeed triumphantly deduce this defection as a natural and necessary consequence from that great principle of Protestantism, which rejects the infallibility of any human authority in matters of religion. Your Church, say they, by admitting that she is liable to error, has lost the power of enforcing obedience from her members: and the flock of Christ, having no guide to whom they may look up with implicit deference, wander, as

mischievous inclination leads, into forbidden pastures. God forbid that this accusation should apply with truth to our case. We think that it is not the unbounded authority and interest of the Clergy, but the truth, which is at all hazards, and under all circumstances, to be supported to the utmost; being persuaded that the truth will upon the whole be expedient in promoting the welfare of mankind, and bring us peace at the last.

We affirm, that so far from having given any cause for the diminution of the just and rightful authority of the Clergy, our Church has restored and established it, as Scripture and reason prescribe. Because the people of this country are by natural disposition and confirmed judgment averse to arbitrary power, do they therefore discard all restraints of government? or rather, are they not distinguished for steadiness in support of a mild and moderate administration of the laws, and for a loyal and devoted attachment to those monarchs, whose limited supremacy is the first offspring of the laws?

The peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome we resist as innovations, unauthorized by the faith and practice of primitive times: we resist also, as innovations, all attempts to disparage the appointed means of grace, baptism, and the clerical function. The following passages tend to shew, that the Fathers believed men

were regenerated and justified by the grace conferred at baptism; and that primitive Christians were careful to “hold fast the form of “doctrine and of sound words” delivered to them from the first. “Those who believe “what we teach,” says Justin Martyr, “after “fasting and prayers for the remission of “sins, are led to some place where there is “water; and are there regenerated (*αναγεν-
 νωσθαι*) in the same manner that we were “regenerated before them: for they are there “baptized in the name of God the Father “Almighty, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, “and of the Holy Ghost^l.” Tertullian observes^m, “Felix sacramentum aquæ nostræ, “quia ablutis delictis pristinæ cæcitatibus, in “vitam æternam liberamur.” “Angelus baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui sancto “vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides “impetrat obsecrata in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto.” And Cyprian writes to his friend Donatus, who was baptized at the same time with him: “Postquam undæ genitalis “auxilio superioris ævi labe detergâ, in expiatum pectus ac purum, desuper se lumen infudit; postquam cælitus Spiritu hausto, in “novum me hominem nativitas secunda reparavit, mirum in modum protinus confirmare

^l Apolog. i. sub fine.

^m De Baptismo, c. i. vi.

“ se dubia, patere clausa, lucere tenebrosa ;
 “ agnoscere terrenum fuisse, quod prius car-
 “ naliter natum delictis obnoxium viveret ; Dei
 “ esse cœpisse, quod jam Spiritus sanctus ani-
 “ maret.”

That infants were baptized we learn from the testimony of Tertullianⁿ and Origen^o; and the propriety of the practice is thus enforced by Cyprian^p: “ Quantum vero ad cau-
 “ sam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra se-
 “ cundum, vel tertium diem, quo nati sint,
 “ constitutos, baptizari non oportere, et con-
 “ siderandam esse legem circumcisionis anti-
 “ quæ: longè aliud in concilio nostro omnibus
 “ visum est: sed universi potius judicavimus,
 “ nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et
 “ gratiam denegandam^q.”

ⁿ De Baptismo, c. xviii.

^o In c. vi. ad Rom. t. ii. p. 543. ed. Basil. 1571.

^p Ep. lxiv. Cyprianus et Collegæ in Concilio 66. Fido fratri salutem.

^q Nam cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat: Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Deus ut personam non accipit, sic nec ætatem; cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate libratâ præbeat patrem.—Cæterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset; magis adultos, et provectos, et majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum antè peccantibus, cum postea

The most material and dangerous error which the contagion of foreign enthusiasm has introduced into this country, and from which all other errors in discipline have their origin, is a systematic contempt of the office and order of the clergy. According to these new tenets, the mysterious operations of grace supersede the use of all human attainments, and the necessity of human appointment. The gifted minister produces his credentials from on high. Do you ask for proofs of his learning and capacity in understanding, of his fidelity and judgment in expounding, the word of God? He has grace. Do you ask for testimonials of

crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, et baptismo atque a gratiâ nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ primâ nativitate contraxit? Idcirco, frater carissime, hæc fuit in concilio nostra sententia, a baptismo atque a gratiâ Dei, qui omnibus misericors et benignus et pius est*, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum circa universos observandum sit atque retinendum; magis circa infantes ipsos et recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de ope nostrâ, ac de divinâ misericordiâ plus merentur, quod in primo statim nativitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac flentes, nihil aliud faciunt quam deprecantur.

* See Hooker's pathetic and indignant remonstrance on this subject, p. 231. fol. "When the letter of the law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, water and the Spirit; water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God bestoweth: there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves were more than needeth." *Ibid.* p. 225.

his virtue, of his consistency, of his temperate discretion in administering the bread of life, so that the doctrine may be profitable in all things, for reproof to the froward, for consolation to the feeble-minded? Be silenced, he has grace. Inquire what is meant by grace? Is it the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, the power of healing, prophecy, the interpretation of tongues? It is none of these, it is no spiritual gift. What then, is it the fruit of the Spirit? The fruits of the Spirit are exhibited in the conduct: they do not prepare men for teaching, they are the effect of divine doctrine, the end proposed by it. This grace then is zeal, an ardent desire, which, as the possessor believes and is persuaded, proceeds from and is directed by the Spirit of God. Now we are commanded to try the spirits, whether they be of God. Zeal may be faulty in principle, and in operation. Corah, Dathan, and Abiram were zealous: those Corinthian teachers, who withstood the Apostle Paul, were abundantly zealous: the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome is chiefly a dissuasive against zeal, which word (ζηλος) he continually uses, without an epithet, in a bad sense. This composition is particularly applicable to the present subject: it is a powerful remonstrance addressed to those, who from some pretensions of personal superiority, derived from supposed

inspiration, reject the ministry of their lawfully-appointed Pastors. The vehemence of Ignatius^r, the good sense of Irenæus^s, the strictness of Tertullian^t, are all directed conspicuously to the same object of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline by means of the regular established Clergy. That unbroken succession of Ministers, that traditional line of episcopacy from the Apostles, so frequently and forcibly insisted upon by these Fathers, are arguments directly levelled against the intrusion of un-called, unauthorized, unqualified teachers into the Church of God. The testimony of Cyprian upon this, as upon other matters of ecclesiastical discipline, is particularly full. A large portion of his Epistles is employed in reprobating the schisms of Novatus and Novatian against the Clergy, and he compares their rebellion to that of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. From the power of retaining and remitting sins, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, and which Cyprian considers to be exercised in baptism, he deduces this argument: “Unde
 “intelligimus non nisi in ecclesiâ præpositis,
 “et in Evangelicâ lege et Dominicâ ordina-
 “tione fundatis licere baptizare, et remissam
 “peccatorum dare; foris autem nec ligari

^r Passim.

^s Particularly lib. iii. cap. 3.

^t Particularly De Præscriptionibus.

“ aliquid posse nec solvi, ubi non sit qui aut
 “ ligare possit aliquid aut solvere. Nec hoc
 “ sine divinæ scripturæ auctoritate proponi-
 “ mus, ut dicamus certâ lege ac propriâ ordi-
 “ natione divinitus cuncta esse disposita; nec
 “ posse quenquam contra Episcopos et Sacer-
 “ dotes usurpare sibi aliquid, quod non sit sui
 “ juris et potestatis. Nam et Core et Dathan
 “ et Abyrom &c. Quod supplicium manet eos,
 “ qui alienam aquam baptismo inferunt falso
 “ &c.”

Again: “ Cum in baptismo unicuique sua
 “ peccata remittantur, probat et declarat in
 “ Evangelio suo Dominus, Per eos solos pec-
 “ cata posse dimitti, qui habeant Spiritum
 “ sanctum^x.” And he contends that these
 gracious promises are confined to those, who
 have a regular accredited commission to per-
 form the offices of the Church.

The forty-fourth and fifty-ninth Epistles
 contain a rejection of the authority of Nova-
 tian and Fortunatus, because the forms of
 their ordination were irregular and invalid.

Hear his strong protestations against self-ap-
 pointment: “ Hi sunt qui se ultro apud teme-
 “ rarios convenas,” (or conventus,) “ sine di-
 “ vinâ dispositione præficiunt, qui se præpo-
 “ sitos sine ullâ ordinationis lege constituunt,

^u Ep. lxxiii.

^x Ep. lxix.

“ qui nemine Episcopatum dante, Episcopi sibi
 “ nomen assumunt. Contra ejusmodi clamat
 “ Dominus, ab his refrænat et revocat erran-
 “ tem plebem suam, dicens: Nolite audire fer-
 “ mones pseudo-prophetarum: quoniam vi-
 “ siones cordis eorum frustrantur eos. Loquun-
 “ tur sed non ab ore Domini”.——Ad pacis
 “ præmium venire non possunt, qui pacem
 “ Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt. Néc se
 “ quidem vanâ interpretatione decipiant, quod
 “ dixerit Dominus; Ubicunque fuerint duo aut
 “ tres collecti in nomine meo, Ego cum eis
 “ sum. Corruptores Evangelii, atque inter-
 “ pretes falsi extrema ponunt, et superiora
 “ prætereunt; partis memores, et partem sub-
 “ dole comprimantes. Ut ipsi ab Ecclesiâ scissi
 “ sunt, ita capituli unius sententiam scindunt.
 “ Dominus enim cum discipulis suis unanimi-
 “ tatem suaderet et pacem, ostendit non mul-
 “ titudini, sed unanimitati deprecantium plu-
 “ rimum tribui. Si duobus, inquit, ex vobis,
 “ convenerit in terrâ; unanimi-
 “ tatem prius po-
 “ suit, concordiam pacis ante præmisit, Ego,
 “ inquit, cum eis sum; cum simplicibus scili-
 “ cet, atque pacatis, cum Deum timentibus, et
 “ Dei præcepta fervantibus. Quomodo autem
 “ potest ei cum aliquo convenire, qui cum cor-
 “ pore ipsius Ecclesiæ et cum universâ frater-

“nitare non convenit? Non enim nos ab illis,
“sed illi a nobis receperunt.”

The great and increasing evil in the Church at the present day is schism. Let us not shut our eyes to the true state of things: the number of conventicles in the kingdom is probably equal to the number of parish-churches; and without any material change in religious doctrine, the worship of God, the most important concern of life, is gradually changing among a large portion of the community. This alteration, which has taken place in silence and as it were by stealth, may partly be accounted for by external circumstances. Let any one compare the exuberant increase of population since the reign of Elizabeth, with the corresponding small addition made to the religious establishment, as it relates both to places of worship and provision for Ministers, within the same period; and it will be obvious that in many instances, unless the people had chosen teachers for themselves, they would have been as sheep wanting a shepherd.

Nevertheless this consideration alone will not account for the great existing defection from the Church, which may be traced to another principle: the criterion of salvation which is established in inward feelings and

² De Unitat. Eccles. p. 111.

persuasion; and which, springing as we have seen from a foreign origin, has become a great characteristic distinction of many societies, who differ widely from each other upon subordinate points. They all agree in disparaging human attainments, and the province of reason in religion: violent effusions of the feelings, and unbounded professions, are with them tests of sincerity, or rather of inspiration. They are for the most part people of little or no education, often of profligate habits in preceding life: but being regenerated, as they suppose, by the irresistible operation of the Holy Ghost, they deem an examination of their conduct superfluous. To themselves they appropriate all the divine promises; and the rest of the world, those who do not embrace their peculiar tenets, they consider as mere professors and outcasts from divine mercy. “*Hominem imperito nihil iniustius, Qui nisi quod ipse facit, nil rectum putat.*” Then having once conceived the notion that they are favoured with the illumination of the Holy Ghost, they have a sure and complete remedy for the corruptions of human nature: all the actions, words, and thoughts of the unregenerated are sinful; but they themselves are washed with holy cleansing, they are renewed, they are sanctified. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God’s elect? Ceremonies and

human institutions in religion, they reject as unnecessary and unlawful restraints. The artificer and husbandman, who imagines himself to have partaken of the mysterious communication of the Spirit, thinks he has a call to do the work of God, and a commission, not inferior to that of an Apostle, to preach the Gospel. Each individual becomes a Pope to himself, infallible, and not amenable to an earthly tribunal. In the balance of fanatical zeal, learning, virtue, and education weigh as chaff: and sobriety of judgment is accounted formality and want of fervour in the cause. The boaster brings an imputation on his courage: in politics, in friendship, men are suspicious of profuse and overweening professions. Will they pass current in religion only? If self-appointment to the ministry of the Gospel had at any time been allowable, surely it would have been allowed in the primitive times, when the effusion of the Holy Spirit was most abundantly bestowed, when the harvest was plentiful and the labourers were few. Yet during the first three centuries there is no instance of a self-appointed Minister, nor of any Teacher who presumed to expound the Gospel in the Church, without a commission from the Apostles or their regularly appointed successors. When Origen, on account of his splendid reputation, was invited into his province by an

Arabian Governor, he first received ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Jerusalem, that he might have a lawful commission to preach the Gospel. Will it now be endured that men who, so far from possessing the great attainments of this illustrious Father, acknowledge their own deficiencies in learning, experience, and capacity to acquire knowledge^a;

^a “ Si hoc cuivis hominum impunè facere licebit, ut quæ privato suæ rationis consilio adinvenit, in vulgus spargat, inconsultâ, imo resistente etiam universâ totius ecclesiæ auctoritate, brevi plus errorum quam fidelium et Christianorum in ecclesiâ erit cernere.” These are the words of Zuinglius, who certainly was no advocate for ecclesiastical tyranny.

“ Of all things wisdom is most terrified with epidemical fanaticism, because of all enemies it is that against which she is the least able to furnish any kind of resource.” Mr. Burke.

The manner of ancient ordinations to the priesthood may be collected from detached passages: as Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians (sect. 42.) says, “ Christ was sent by God, and the Apostles by Christ: both were sent in order (*ευτακτως*): and the Apostles, preaching through countries and cities, appointed the first-fruits of their conversions to be Bishops and Ministers over believers, having first proved them by the Spirit: *καθιστανον εις επισκοπους και διακονους.*” Eusebius (lib. vi. c. 23.) relates, that Origen, passing through Palestine, received the priesthood by imposition of hands from the Bishops of the country; *πρεσβυτεριον χειροθεσιαν εν Καισαρεια προς των τηδε Επισκοπων αναλαμβανει.* “ Ut paterentur ei manus quasi in Episcopum imponi.” Cypr. Ep. xlix. In the first Epistle of Cyprian a more full account is given

instead of submitting to these impediments, which justly preclude them from eminent stations, shall boldly leap the barrier, and assert that the single quality of zeal is a sufficient proof of divine illumination, and levels all distinctions?

This licentious exercise of private judgment is subversive of social order, decency, and law, and brings discredit upon the Christian name: and, affording a boundless latitude to doctrinal errors in religion, affects with fatal influence the temporal and eternal happiness of men. It is not less bigotry than the criterion of infallibility assumed by the Church of Rome, a manifest innovation upon the primitive Christian discipline, and strongly discountenanced by the early Fathers.

of the ordinations and maintenance of the Clergy: and in the sixty-eighth; "Episcopo Cornelio in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ de Dei judicio et Cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato." The false ordinations procured by the faction of Novatus and Novatian (Ep. lii. and lviii.) shew how much stress the ancient Church laid upon the jurisdiction of the superior Clergy. Self-appointment to any ecclesiastical function seems not to have been thought of: and they who rejected the universal order of discipline, not only were not allowed to teach, but were not even considered members of the Church: "Nec remanere in Ecclesiâ Dei possunt, qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam, nec actûs sui conversatione nec morum pace tenere." *Cypr.* Ep. lii.

In my next and last discourse I purpose to recapitulate the substance of this Lecture ; and hope to deduce from what appears to me to be the faith and practice of the primitive Church, some instruction, applicable to the present times, which may tend to check error, and to promote true religion amongst us.

S E R M O N V I I I .

PHILIP. iv. 5.

Let your moderation be known unto all men.

IN this last discourse my object will be, to recapitulate in the first place what I have attempted, and what I hope I have performed, in this Lecture; and secondly, to draw some general practical inferences from the subject before us.

My introductory discourse contained an exposition of the opinions which have at different times obtained in the Christian world concerning the authority of the Fathers. It appeared that from the sixth to the sixteenth century, a period of ignorance and superstition, an unwarrantable stress was laid upon their sentiments; and that it was the custom then not "to weigh them in the balance of Scripture, but to weigh Scripture in the balance of the Fathers." It further appeared that, after the time of Luther, some Romanists, in order to enhance the value of oral traditions, and some Protestants, who wished to make the

letter of holy Scripture the sole standard, not only of Christian doctrine, but of ecclesiastical discipline and polity also, with these very opposite principles in view, coincided, certainly not by design, yet in fact, to depreciate and altogether sink the importance of the writings of the ancient Church. Our researches terminated in this result, that a moderate opinion of the merits of the Fathers has ever prevailed in the minds of the best and wisest men; and was holden by the most distinguished Fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries; by the greatest Protestant Reformers, particularly those of our own Church: Erasmus entertained the same sentiments, and M. Daillé, who of all critics upon the primitive compositions is the most eminent and most judicious. It is always to be remembered, that this moderate opinion is much farther removed from one extreme than from the other: it finds no union with that contemptuous spirit of innovation and vanity, which treats antiquity as a confused heap of mistakes and inconsistencies and fables: it yields to no party in veneration for the exalted personal virtues of the Fathers, and esteems their writings inferior only to the inspired volume, for the purpose of edifying the Christian world by the faith and practice of primitive times.

Upon these principles rests the propriety of

calling the attention of theological students to this subject. My plan is limited to the principal authors of the first three centuries. In the execution of it, I can honestly say that I have been solicitous to act the part of a faithful reporter, and, according to Daillé's just recommendation, "to seek in these venerable records, not my own sentiments, but the real opinions of the writers." One of my objects has been, to point out those works which give the most correct and detailed information concerning the Fathers. Should my analysis occasionally appear brief and scanty, my apology is, that I could easily have lengthened it, and that my labour has been to select and retrench, as far as was consistent with a complete consideration of the subject; with a view, not of satiating my hearers by minute details, but of exciting their curiosity to a perusal of the originals.

I have endeavoured to give you a representation of the mild and holy wisdom of Clement; the heroic spirit of Ignatius; and the constancy of the venerable Polycarp. You have witnessed the manly and conclusive reasoning of Justin, who has the glory of being the first combatant in a double warfare, against Jews and Pagans; and have seen that Irenæus condescended to employ, in opposition to the frantic Gnostics, the artillery of Scripture and

reason. In the school of Alexandria, we found the moderate Clement, endeavouring to infuse the divine spirit of Christianity into a multifarious mass of human learning, knowledge, and philosophy; and the illustrious Origen, seduced occasionally by the impulse of a riotous imagination from that course, which his better judgment and his heart acknowledged to be the way of life. Carthage presented to us her sons, the stern Tertullian, and the vigilant zealous Cyprian.

Each discourse offered some appropriate topic of instruction: the Apostolic Fathers were eminent for faith, the foundation of Christian virtues, which may be compared to a rock, vainly assailed by tumultuous waves. The Fathers of the second century exemplified the powerful office of reason in religious matters, the advantages of moderation and persuasion, and the dangers of an extreme and repulsive rigour. The writings of the third century gave occasion to recommend the expediency of articles and formularies of faith, and the becoming union and fellowship which ought to bind together all the members of Christ's Church.

I selected two doctrines, the investigation of which might give a consistency to these varied researches, and which are in themselves of vital importance. I know not what the im-

pression may have been upon the minds of my hearers: but for my own part, the result of this examination causes in me great astonishment, that the tenets of modern Unitarianism should be ascribed to the primitive creed. The testimonies of the early Fathers are copious, uniform, and decisive in exhibiting their belief in the Godhead and Atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It seems to me, that only extreme prejudice and vanity can resist the force of this accumulated stream of evidence, in support of the great fundamental truth of revealed religion. One of the three Persons of the eternal Godhead, from divine and boundless love and mercy, took upon him human nature, that he might by a sacrifice of himself atone for the sins of men. Whoever takes from the Christian scheme the divine Atonement, takes away its distinguishing and characteristic tenet. For it is a part of other religious creeds to believe that all good proceeds from divine inspiration, that there will be a future state of retribution, and that morality ought to be founded on religion. Even Socrates taught these truths; and it is an argument for the superiority of the Gospel, and for the divinity of our Saviour, which Justin Martyr urges upon the Heathens, that men die for Jesus Christ, but there are no martyrs in the cause of profane philosophy. Let us

hold fast this article of our faith without wavering on account of bold and groundless assertions, and without suffering ourselves to be seduced by the learning and other excellent qualities which have adorned some of those who oppose it. The Church of Christ will doubtless always subsist upon earth, but any particular Church may fall, and may become like the early Churches of Asia, whose candlesticks are removed from their place. We cannot agree or unite with Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians, lest we be found to deny the Lord who bought us^b.

They who are redeemed and justified by faith in Christ crucified, are sanctified by the Holy Ghost. All denominations of Christians agree, that human nature is a soil too sterile to produce of itself fruit worthy of eternal life: it requires to be invigorated by divine grace. Different tests and criteria of sanctification have been proposed; as a communion with

^b The testimonies from the Fathers in proof of the divine Atonement are of my own selection: as I thought it better not to avail myself, in this point, of the industry of others. They might easily have been much enlarged. I earnestly recommend those who are unsatisfied as to the belief of the early ages in our Lord's divinity to Dr. Burgh's treatise on the Trinity, to Dr. Horsley's controversial Letters with Dr. Priestley, (republished in 1812,) and above all to Bishop Bull's tracts on this subject, published by Grabe in one vol. folio.

the Church of Rome, or an inward assurance and witness of the Holy Spirit, which a man feels within himself. Our Church, in the first part of her Homily for Whitsunday, thus treats this subject: "O but how shall I know
 " that the Holy Ghost is within me? some
 " man perchance will say. Truly as the tree
 " is known by his fruit, so is also the Holy
 " Ghost. Here now is that glass, wherein
 " thou must behold thyself, and discern whe-
 " ther thou have the Holy Ghost within thee,
 " or the spirit of the flesh. If thou see that
 " thy works be virtuous and good, consonant
 " to the prescribed rule of God's word, tasting
 " not of the flesh, but of the Spirit, then assure
 " thyself that thou art endued with the Holy
 " Ghost: otherwise, in thinking well of thy-
 " self, thou dost nothing else but deceive thy-
 " self." I have endeavoured to shew, that the
 early Fathers established this same criterion of
 divine inspiration. For the truth of their being
 guided by divine influence, they made a bold
 appeal to the world, to Jews and Pagans, that
 the lives of Christians were better and happier
 than those of other men^c. "Our religion," said

^c Ουκ εν λογοις, αλλ' εν εργοις τα της ημετερας θεοσεβειας
 πραγματα. Justin Mart. Paræn. ad Græcos, p. 33.

Nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente præferimus:

Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

Minuc. Felix, Dial. p. 31.

they, "is not one of professions, but is exhibited in our lives:" its beneficial effects recommended it, to apply Origen's forcible representation, to the "common sense" (*κοινή νοῦς*) of mankind^d. Upon this important subject we are happy to observe, that the sentiments of the Fathers are in unison with the doctrines of our Church: they do not support the arrogant pretensions of the Romanists, who say, "the Holy Ghost was promised to the Church; and we, being the chief heads, and the principal part of the Church, have therefore the Holy Ghost for ever:" nor do they coincide with that sentimental nonsense, which exalts uncertain feelings and impressions into solid proofs of divine inspiration. He that doeth righteousness is righteous.

Men of these two different persuasions have fallen into equal errors, both in judging partially of their own case, and in venturing to decide positively between real and nominal Christians. They deny that those who think

^d Contra Cels. lib. iii. p. 135.

^e Homily for Whitsunday, part 2. "The object of this faculty (conscience, or moral sense) is actions, comprehending under that name active or practical principles." Bishop Butler, of the Nature of Virtue.

Ουδε ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία—ἐν πείσει ἀλλὰ ἐνεργείᾳ. M. Anton. lib. ix. 16.

"Virtutis laus omnis in actione consistit." Cic. Offic. lib. i. c. 6.

otherwise than themselves can possess the Holy Ghost; and they consequently exclude them from the fellowship of Christ's Church, and the promises of God's favour and eternal happiness. Others, on the contrary, perceiving the bigotry and unjust intolerance of these notions, and considering probably moreover the total ignorance of true religion which prevails over so large a portion of the earth, and the unavoidable errors and incurable blindness of some who have been instructed in the saving truths of the Gospel, have on these accounts, from a latitude of indulgence, supposed that sincerity was the only indispensable requisite on the part of man to render his homage acceptable to his Maker. The truth is, that this matter does not fall within the decision of human judgment: nor have we on earth any certain means of discerning those who really belong to the true Church and mystical body of Christ. They who are of this society have marks and notes to distinguish them which we cannot know, but which are clear and manifest to God only, who seeth the heart. On the other hand, all are members of the visible Church, who maintain a uniformity of outward profession, and acknowledge one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

If this distinction between the real Church and the visible Church were well observed,

much error and mischief would be prevented'. They who reject a belief in salvation through the mediation of Christ, and they who are careless of good works, infidels and profligates—cannot, without repentance, be numbered among the true servants of our Lord, who have the promises of eternal blessedness. But many of our theological controversies turn not upon these greater questions, but relate to distinctions of the visible Church, and the degrees of soundness and corruption in particular societies. We think that many doctrines of the Church of Rome, and of certain Protestant Dissenters, are unsound; and that our Church is more pure, because she has not admitted innovations upon the faith and practice of primitive times. When other Christian societies wish to impose upon mankind their tenets, upon the plea of an infallible authority, we protest against this tyranny, from whatever quarter it may proceed. The King and people of this country own no superior under God: with his blessing, they are able and willing to govern themselves, in matters spiritual and civil, without the aid of any power at

† The Romanists say, that “an invisible Church are” words without meaning.” Faith of Catholics, p. 57. Are not the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and deceased Saints, (whom they invoke,) part of that Church, of which Christ himself is the invisible head?

Rome or elfewhere: and all foreign interference they refift as unjust and unlawful aggression. Neither can it be endured, that any claim of divine illumination (which is in fact under another name the fame plea of dominion asserted by the Church of Rome) should give an unbounded licence to the exercise of private judgment, and thus dissolve the laws of society. The preservation of discipline in the Church of Christ we know to be most pleasing to God, who is the author, not of confusion, but of order.

And here it may be proper to notice an observation of the Romanists^s, who think that on this subject they enclose us in the following dilemma; namely, that although we affirm there is no infallible authority on earth, we yet claim obedience to our ecclesiastical laws. We do indeed maintain both these propositions, and think there is here no conclusive dilemma. We believe that there is always an appeal, not from the Bible to the Church or Clergy, but from the decisions of the Clergy to the Bible: in a word, that, in the all-important concern of his salvation, every individual has a right to read the Bible for himself. We also affirm, on the other hand, that those who agree in principal points of doctrine with

^s See Mr. Butler's Life of Bishop Bossuet, p. 54.

the articles of faith proposed by the national Church, ought to conform to the laws of that Church in matters of order and discipline: and that contention and opposition on inferior topics betoken pride and obstinacy, and incur the guilt of rebellion and schism. The very name of law denotes a rule which is to overbear private judgments for the public good: and we think that true liberty, in Church or State, is only to be attained by a dutiful subjection to the laws, which form a barrier alike against despotism and anarchy.

We find not in the writings of the Fathers any precedent for the claim of infallible authority: and the Church of England, by renouncing it, has reformed herself, according to the simplicity of the primitive model. Her moderation is known unto all men. The doctrines which she teaches are from Scripture alone, eternal and immutable: her laws, constitution, and discipline she defends, by arguments drawn from Scripture and reason, upon the ground of their expediency to promote Christianity. The Gospel cannot be planted or propagated without ministers: and the early records prove, that in all places where the Apostles and their successors preached, they were accustomed to ordain and appoint men well qualified to the sacred offices of the priesthood. And there can be no doubt, that

in general they who preached the Gospel lived of the Gospel, were supported by the offerings of the faithful. When the persons invested with power in a state were converted to Christianity, the provision for the Clergy was, as might be expected, consolidated into a permanent legal establishment.

It was reserved for modern times to question the propriety of a national religious establishment. Such an establishment we might defend, by the acknowledgment and maxims of politicians, upon the ground of its incomparable importance in promoting the temporal welfare of society. But the true and solid foundation of the clerical order is the commission delivered by Christ for the salvation of souls. If the people of a country be faithful converts to the Gospel, they will undoubtedly be solicitous that Christian faith and practice should be propagated, confirmed, and perpetuated, by divine aid, among present and future generations. They will perceive that, after the example of the primitive Christians, private divisions and pretensions ought to be abolished, and the whole body should consent to promote the same great objects, in unity and concord. Experience, reason, the voice of the Fathers, and the Gospel, all condemn schisms in the Church, as a sin to be compared with suicide. What waywardness and infa-

tuation of mind, that men who agree in using the same language, the same laws, the same Bible, should yet refuse to join the national worship of God: that, having gone hand in hand with us for six days, they should make a separation on the seventh!

This is a recapitulation of the substance of my former discourses. It must be allowed, that there are difficulties in tracing some of the opinions of the early Fathers: for, not having in their contemplation the false doctrines since introduced into the Church, they have not spoken on all these matters so decidedly as to preclude all controversy. Still, I am persuaded, it will on the whole appear, that they are clearly adverse to the Socinian system; that they are far from encouraging a visionary fanaticism; that they meant not to establish arbitrary ecclesiastical power on the one hand, or on the other to countenance a rejection of all Church discipline.

For these reasons, the primitive writings may be considered a treasure of theological knowledge, a fence and barrier round the sacred word of God. For these reasons they may be recommended to young students in divinity; and I venture to exhort them not to be discouraged by a rude style and tediousness of composition, but to persevere, under an assurance that their pains will be rewarded.

The study of the Fathers will add to their sincerity seriousness, and steadiness in that great pursuit to which they devote themselves: they will find, that to be a Christian after the primitive model is not a light matter of profession, the incidental occupation of an hour or a day, but the unremitted business of life. This study will instruct their minds, and prevent them from being dazzled and disconcerted by the specious objections of Infidelity, which, whether advanced in a bold or a subtle manner, they will discover to be not only false, but stale, and often refuted. By displaying a standard of real excellence, it will check vain and presumptuous thoughts, the parents of ostentation and innovation: it will lead to edification, to humility, to submission of judgment, to obedience to lawful governors, whether in Church or State. In matters of theological controversy, the reader of the Fathers will learn from their example, from their very mistakes, to be firm but not unbending; to make concessions upon doubtful and unimportant points; to be satisfied, if there cannot be perfect concord among Christians, to have peace. He will learn moderation. His prejudices will abate, and before he engages in the heat of argument, he will pause and inquire into his own errors. These venerable remains are a perpetual commentary upon

Scripture ; they establish its canon, and the paramount veneration with which it has in the best times been regarded, as a last appeal, in the Christian world. The Fathers instruct us to believe, that holy Scripture always was and will be the sole source and standard of orthodoxy ; and, as it was before remarked, their writings seem to have been providentially preserved, as a guard against innovations in the Church, and the introduction of human devices and inventions, by interested or deluded persons, upon the plea of their being part of the unchangeable Gospel of Jesus Christ. The young student will observe, that the Fathers propose no private revelations vouchsafed to themselves to general belief : they insist not upon their own powers ; they only explain Scripture, and enforce lawful government. He may reflect what an inexplicable phenomenon in literature these compositions would be, without Scripture. The authors, who are neither elegant writers, nor endowed with extraordinary powers of imagination, propagate doctrines concerning a future state, and the moral dispensations of Providence, of far greater importance than any sentiments contained in the writings of the Heathen Philosophers : they speak, not with that hesitation which accompanies problematical science, but with assurance and certainty. The doctrines

of redemption and regeneration were then new to the world : whence did the Fathers derive them ? According to their own statement, from the inspired volume of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. We know how little human reason can perform, from the doubtful and unsatisfactory speculations of Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle, and Cicero. The Fathers enjoyed no superiority of natural faculties over these heathen philosophers : and the Apostles and Evangelists themselves were ignorant and unlearned men : none of them could have invented the system which they agreed in delivering to the world. Thus the Gospel not only contains internal evidence of its being a divine dispensation ; but the providence of God has annexed to it two circumstances, which, unless it be a true revelation, are unaccountable :—viz. a series of antecedent prophecies, and a continued succession of writers, from the time of its first promulgation, who bear witness to its genuineness. The Infidel, before he proposes his scepticism upon the subject of the Scriptures themselves, should, in just and fair reasoning, first account for the writings of the Fathers : he should be called upon to assign some probable cause for their believing in this new revelation, if it rested on fallacies ; and for their inserting in their writings

peculiar opinions, which were not their own invention, and are apparently beyond the scope of human capacity.

As a perusal of the primitive writings presents a prospect of great advantages to young students in divinity, so may it be recommended in an especial manner to the Ministers of the Gospel. The scholar improves in taste and classical elegance by a familiarity with the compositions of the best authors : philosophical science derives certainty and extent only from successive researches and repeated experiments: the patriotic hero is incited to exertion by the memory of the glorious deeds of those who have been benefactors to mankind. The Minister of the Gospel may be instructed by the experience, and stimulated by the example of the primitive Fathers, in the discharge of his various duties. There are some instances of ignorance, some of error, in the writings of the Fathers : for it is the natural condition of mortal men and things to have a mixture of imperfection. But Christianity consists not in subtleties and casuistry ; not in the number of articles of faith, but in their efficacy. Its chief end is sanctification, which may be defined to be a sincere worship of God, and true charity towards man. And those who firmly maintain these two points are to be entitled good

Christians, although they may fail in some particulars, which relate rather to speculation than to practice.

The Fathers employed themselves either in vindicating the Christian religion from false and injurious aspersions; in discovering to the world the absurdity and impiety of Paganism; in convincing the hard-hearted Jews; in confuting the monstrous inventions of the Heretics of those times; in exhortations to the faithful to patience and martyrdom; and in expounding holy Scripture. But their chief business, to use the language of M. Daillé, was to write Christianity in the hearts of men by the beams of their sanctity, and by their blood shed in martyrdom^h.

Whoever wishes to see the faith and practice of those times delineated at large, should consult Dr. Cave's excellent work, entitled "Primitive Christianity." I cannot engage in all the copiousness of this subject, but will content myself with selecting two topics for your particular consideration; namely, the diffusion of knowledge, and of Christianity.

By knowledge I would be understood to mean, the general cultivation of the faculties of the human mind. Reason is the law which God has given to man, his proper endowment,

^h See Appendix, No. V. p. 287.

which distinguishes him from brute animals, who live by sense. This noble quality subjects to us the material world, and rules over the baser appetites of our nature; and makes men, in social intercourse and sublimity of comprehensive thought, like gods. Reason is the instrument by which we discover Scripture to be the word of God, by which we are capable of receiving divine illumination, and of being made temples of the Holy Spirit. By means of the human understanding, and the improvement of it, we hope to spread Christian faith and practice. A strange prejudice it is to separate reason from piety: reason indeed, without revelation, teaches not the way to everlasting happiness; but revelation is expressly addressed to the reasonable faculties of man, and when it makes its way by means of the passions, errors immediately ensue. It is also truly said, that our great corruption is shewn in the pride of reason: but here the evil lies not in the thing itself, but in the perversion of it, through self-love. There is a pride of mental and of bodily endowments, of riches, even of charity: which are all good in themselves, and may be used to the best purposes; but pride cankers and poisons them, as it caused Satan and his angels to fall from heaven. Let us not then confound together good sense and self-conceit, which are so dif-

ferent, not to say opposite, that the phrase, "a reasonable man," implies in common discourse a character of moderation and humility. Let us never forget, that it is the characteristic glory of Protestantism to have introduced into matters of religion the authority of reason, instead of superstitious tyranny. The Church of Rome employed despotic power, and the Anabaptists fanatical zeal, as means to promote Christianity: while moderate Protestants, and our Church in particular, employed learning and virtue for this purpose, after the example of the primitive Fathers. For Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria were learned in all branches of Gentile philosophy; Origen's reputation for erudition is perhaps greater than that of any man of any age; and Tertullian and Cyprian were skilled in the study and practice of rhetoric and law, and in the literature of the times. Let us make a firm stand upon this high ground, and discountenance that disproportionate connection, which is sometimes pretended to exist, between inspiration and ignorance; assuring ourselves that true and sound knowledge is the most useful handmaid of religion, and next to piety the brightest ornament of human nature.

There can be neither learning, nor knowledge, nor religion, without instruction; the principal part of which is the education of

youth. The catechetical schools at Alexandria, which furnished a regular official employment to Clement and Origen, and the anxious care exhibited by Cyprian on the subject of the baptism and Christian training of infants and children, sufficiently manifest the sentiments of antiquity on this point. In a barbarous, that is to say, an uneducated society, men perceive not that a partial submission of individuals is expedient for the general happiness: each thinks it disgraceful to yield his own will, because no motive for concession is proposed to him but fear. Education shews, that the true bond of social intercourse is mutual advantage, and that asperity and violence defeat this end: it gives habits of obedience and conciliation, and while it takes away a portion of personal freedom and power, it provides greater security and happiness under the more ample protection of laws. Add to this, that Christian education, strengthened as it now is by the enlarged distribution of the holy Scriptures, supposes and includes an attention to good morals and true religion, which are more cogent restraints upon evil actions and evil thoughts than any human enactments. The prosperity of the community is inseparable from the prosperity of individuals: and the condition of human nature can be improved only by cultivating the hu-

man understanding, and directing it habitually to good, in such a manner that selfish and wicked propensities may not have opportunity to shoot forth, and the benevolent affections may flourish with increased vigour, by constant nurture and exercise. Without education the mental faculties are like waste land, capable indeed of great products, but unemployed and useless; and the bodily frame grows to the maturity of manhood, while the intellectual and divine part remains a blank.

By knowledge, in this extended sense of the word, man is distinguished from man. Human nature in savage life excels in instinct and personal strength, because the animal part is most exercised: and in that state, the passions have uncontrolled sway, and rage with the violence of tempests. Science, and art, and policy, good order, and tranquillity, all that makes life desirable, whatsoever things are lovely and of good report, these are the work of reason, dispensed and improved under the especial favour of Providence. Still from the corruption of human nature, unrenewed and unconverted by Christian grace, the best faculties and attainments are continually perverted to evil purposes: and those which are most powerful become the most efficient engines of destruction.

The propagation of Christianity is the true

remedy for the miseries of mankind. The Christian alone knows how to turn to good account all the events of this probationary pilgrimage: "Blessed is the man, whose strength is in thee, O Lord; in whose heart are thy ways: who going through the vale of misery uses it for a well: and the pools are filled with water. He will go from strength to strength." The divine revelation shews, what man discovers not himself, that the source of evil is innate human depravity: it directs him to faith in his crucified Redeemer for his justification, and he prays to God for the grace of his sanctifying Spirit, that he may be enabled to do his will. The Fathers constantly assert, that a Christian's hopes are better than those of other men, and therefore he is happier: that his conduct is better, and therefore he conduces to the greater happiness of society. For the truth of this statement they appealed to facts, which are God's arguments, according to the sublime expression of Tertullian, "Res est Dei ratio." After the lapse of eighteen hundred years we make the same appeal, affirming that the temporal happiness of nations and of individuals is promoted by the diffusion of Christianity, and that this is a proof and earnest of the blessings which await Christ's faithful followers in a future life. Considering the indifference which

prevails on the important subject of religion, and the hostility which is sometimes exhibited against Christianity, it might be supposed that it afforded scope to bad passions and immorality, instead of breathing love to God and good will to man, that universal benevolence and beneficence, the extent of which uninspired teachers cannot attain.

The early Fathers felt, with St. Paul, the necessity which was laid on them to preach the Gospel: and the rapidity of its progress is a sufficient proof, both of the divine interposition, and of their indefatigable zeal in discharge of the commission delivered to them. Their writings contain repeated assertions of the diffusion of Christianity through all parts of the habitable world; and although these expressions are to be received with allowances, there can be no doubt that, before the close of the first three centuries, Christian Ministers had made converts in all provinces of the Roman empire, and had penetrated into Germany, Arabia, and India. Justin Martyr and Origen in particular journeyed as missionaries into distant countries; and their example, together with that of the Apostles, joined with our Lord's express command, "Go ye, and teach all nations," cannot fail of having a powerful influence upon every reflecting mind. The Church of England, re-

taining the original moderation of her principles, and impeded by many domestic difficulties, has not signalized herself in promoting missions in an equal degree with some other European Churches: but the Almighty will, in his good time, give scope to that genuine spirit, which, removed from the heat of religious bigotry, and the interested pursuits of worldly policy, is solely intent upon spreading the blessings of Christianity, after the example of a pure and primitive age.

Wheresoever in primitive times the Gospel was preached, there was an appointment of regular Ministers. The institution of Parish Priests may be called the corner-stone of ecclesiastical polity: this useful body of men have in almost all ages and countries maintained a character of respectability in the Christian world, a character of moderation, which word, in the original *επιεικής*, may be interpreted to mean, a complying and consistent propriety of conduct. The state of religion in a country depends in a principal degree upon the qualifications of the parochial Ministers: the faith and practice of the Pastor influence the faith and practice of the flock. May the Clergy of this land be enabled, in their respective offices, to maintain in all its purity the faith once delivered to the saints. “*Fortunati nimium sua si bona norint;*” they are

engaged in promoting, as their peculiar business, the happiness of mankind. Yet is their situation one of perilous responsibility. An ecclesiastical polity, framed with the greatest purity and wisdom, an Apostolical succession, a divine commission, are great and powerful means deposited with us: while we reflect with gratitude upon these sacred trusts, let us remember that their utility and success depend entirely upon ourselves. God has not vouchsafed miraculous gifts to these latter times; but he has promised to be always with the preachers of his word to the end of the world. Let us therefore be of good courage; strong in the strength of the Lord we shall not fail: we have put our hands to the plough, and it becomes us not to look back; we are armed for the battle, and by God's help we shall have the victory. The primitive Fathers devoted to their Master's service their time, their strength, their fortunes, their lives, their reputations: they believed, with holy confidence in the Lord's help, that the Gospel through their ministry would triumph over all obstacles, and they prevailed. We have the same cause, the same almighty Helper and Comforter: equal energy will crown our labours with the same success.

The object of our pursuit is the salvation of souls: we teach the way of eternal happiness

by Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us. This doctrine comprises a more perfect scheme for the improvement of this temporal state, than any yet devised by human wit and philosophy. They who delight to draw a picture of virtue triumphant upon earth, and the consequent progress of felicity and enjoyment in the condition as well of individuals as of communities, make a representation of effects which true religion only is calculated to produce in the world. This makes governors more apt to rule conscientiously, and inferiors more willing to obey; and teaches all persons to perform, contentedly and faithfully, the duties of that station, public or private, in which God has placed them. As the sun and rain render the earth fruitful and lovely, so the divine word and grace enlighten, invigorate, and nourish man's immortal spirit: and thus the being, who was framed out of the dust, when advanced to full maturity, is capable of the ineffable fruition of the presence of God, and the Almighty may again see that the work of his hands is good.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I. P. 132.

Diagramma Tetraptorum, Hexaptorum, et Octaptorum.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
Hebrew.	Hebrew, in Greek Letters.	Aquila.	Symma- chus.	Septua- ginta.	Theodo- tion.	Editio Hierichun- tina.	'Editio Nicolio- tana.
ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ	Βερεσιδ	ⲉⲩⲕⲉⲡⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁⲩ	ⲉⲩⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲉⲩⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲉⲩⲁⲡⲗⲁ	desideratur.	desideratur.

TETRAPLA.

HEXAPLA.

Huet. Originiana, lib. iii. s. 4.

NUMB. II.

P. 110. *From Tertullian's "Apology."*

"Would you have us prove the existence of the one
 "true God from his wonderful works, by which we are
 "sustained, which minister to us both delight and fear:
 "shall we prove it from the testimony of the soul itself?
 "Though confined in the prison of the body, fettered by
 "evil customs and habits, exhausted by lustful passions,
 "a slave to false Gods, yet when the soul does recover
 "herself, as from some surfeit and sickness, and is in a
 "state of health, she calls upon God; for there is but one
 "true God, the good, the great. And 'as it pleases
 'God,' 'God sees,' 'I commend to God,' these are ex-
 "pressions in general use. O testimony of the soul na-
 "turally Christian! And he who speaks looks, not to the
 "capitol, but to heaven. The soul acknowledges the seat
 "of God: from him and from thence is her descent."
 The Author proceeds to state, how this natural sense of
 the Deity is improved by his revelations, received by
 pure and candid minds, which imbibe the Christian faith
 not given by nature. "Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani."

P. 112. *From the same.*

"Our battle is to be called before your tribunals:
 "there we contend for the truth at the peril of our lives.
 "But to obtain what you contend for is victory. The
 "object of this victory is the glory of pleasing God, and
 "the spoil eternal life.—O glory allowed because it has
 "a human object: therefore its daring is not thought
 "wasted, nor its confidence desperate, in despising death
 "and pain: and it is permitted you to suffer for your
 "country, for the government, for your friends, but not
 "for your God. Yet for these heroes ye cast statues, and
 "carve images, with inscriptions, and design these me-

“ morials to last for ever: ye may be said to afford a resurrection to the dead. He who hopes to enjoy it in truth from God, is mad.”

P. 116. *From Tertullian's treatise "On Shows."*

“ If you still think that this short space of life requires amusements, why are you so ungrateful, as not to think sufficient and to acknowledge the many and great pleasures bestowed by God. What delights can be greater, than a reconciliation with God our Father and Lord, than the revelation of truth, the exposure of error, and the pardon of all past sins? what pleasure more pure, than a rejection of pleasure, a contempt of the age, a true freedom, an upright conscience, a contented life, a fearless prospect of death? You tread under foot the gods of the Gentiles, you expel devils, you heal the sick, revelations are made to you, you live to God: these are the pleasures, these are the shows of a Christian, holy, constant, without price. Call it your circus to view the course of the age, to reckon the lapse of years, to look forward to the goal of life: defend the party of the Church, take your station under the banner of God, rouse yourself at the angel's trumpet, let your glory be in the palm of martyrdom. Do you delight in the arts of the stage, we have sufficient literature amongst us, abundance of verses, sentences, and even songs; we have the words, not of fable, but of truth, not in illusion, but in simplicity. Do you want fights and wrestling? They are at hand, and of great interest. Behold lewdness overthrown by chastity, faithlessness slain by faith, cruelty bruised by compassion, impudence cast down by modesty: such are the contests, in which we receive crowns. Do you also wish for blood? You have the blood of Christ. Then what a fight will the approaching advent of our Lord

“ exhibit, appearing in manifest glory and triumph? Think
 “ of the exultation of angels, and the splendour of saints
 “ in the resurrection, the reign of the just, and the city of
 “ the new Jerusalem.”

P. 146. *From Cyprian's treatise "On the Vanity of Idols."*

“ This is the order, these the reasonable principles of
 “ Christ's coming, and of the manner of salvation by him.
 “ God was first gracious to the Jews. Thus their fore-
 “ fathers were just and religiously obedient: from this
 “ source proceeded the grandeur of the people, and upon
 “ this foundation was built the lofty eminence of their
 “ power. Afterwards they became negligent of disci-
 “ pline, proud, puffed up with a vain confidence in their
 “ race, they set at nought the divine commands, and con-
 “ sequently lost the divine grace: now they are scattered
 “ wanderers over the earth, in confusion, outcasts from
 “ their own soil and climate, aliens and guests in a strange
 “ land. Moreover God predicted of old that the time
 “ should come, when God would draw to himself from
 “ every nation and people and place, those who should
 “ worship him in greater faithfulness and obedience, and
 “ should be vessels fit to receive the gifts of that divine
 “ favour, which the Jews despised and lost. It follows
 “ that the Word and Son of God is sent as the dispenser
 “ and master of this mercy, grace, and discipline: he was
 “ proclaimed by all the ancient prophets, as the enlight-
 “ ener and teacher of the human race. He is the virtue,
 “ word, and reason of God, his wisdom and glory. He
 “ was in the Virgin's womb, and by the operation of the
 “ Holy Ghost took flesh, and mingled Godhead with
 “ manhood. He is our God, he is Christ, and being a
 “ mediator between two, clothed himself with human
 “ nature, that he might exalt it to a union with the
 “ Father.”

P. 151. *From the treatise "On the Unity of the Church."*

"Whoever by separating from the Church commits adultery, is separated from the promises of the Church. He who leaves the Church, reaches not the rewards of Christ. He is an alien, an infidel, an enemy. Indeed none can have God for their father, who have not the Church for their mother. If any could escape, who were not within Noah's ark, then may they hope to escape who are not within the Church. The Lord says, 'I and my Father are one.' And again, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost it is written, 'These three are one.' Can it be thought that this unity, substantiated in the divine nature, cemented by heavenly sacraments, is to be broken in the Church, and a schism made by the collision of opposite wills? This unity he who keeps not, keeps not the law of God, keeps not the faith of the Father and of the Son, keeps not the truth to salvation."

P. 153. *From the treatise "Concerning the Lapsed."*

"Lo peace, my beloved brethren, is restored to the Church: and what those of doubtful mind thought difficult, and infidels deemed impossible, our safety has, by vindication of the divine aid, been reestablished. Joy is restored to our minds; and, after the dispersion of clouds and storms, a serene and tranquil sunshine has again broke forth. Let us offer up our praises to God. The day so universally desired has arrived; and, after the horrible black darkness of a long night, the world is once more radiant with the light of the Lord."

"The multitude of by-standers is attendant on the footsteps of your glory. The same sincerity possesses their hearts, the same tenacious integrity of faith. The divine precepts and Gospel traditions are as unshaken roots to their souls, and therefore they have feared nei-

“ther allotted exile, nor destined torments, neither the
 “lofs of poffeffions, nor bodily fuffering. Thefe heavenly
 “crowns of martyrs, thefe fpiritual glories of confeffors,
 “thefe great and eminent virtues of brethren who have
 “flood the teft, one only forrow clouds. I grieve, brethren,
 “I grieve with you; nor is my affliction foothered
 “by the thought of my own integrity and individual
 “health: for the fhepherd feels the wounds of his flock.”

P. 154.

“Did not your fenfes fail, did not your tongue cleave
 “without fpeech to your mouth? How could the fervant
 “of God ftand there, and fpeak, and renounce Chrift,
 “who had already renounced the devil and the world?
 “That altar, at which he was to die, was it not a fared
 “funeral pile? Wretched man, do you offer a facrifice
 “on that altar, do you bring a victim with fupplication
 “and prayers? At that altar you are the facrifice, you
 “are the voluntary victim. There you immolate your
 “falvation: your hope, your faith, are confumed in thofe
 “fires of mourning.”

“Let none deceive themfelves: mercy belongs only to
 “the Lord. He only can pardon fins, who bore our offences,
 “who was afflicted for us, whom God delivered
 “for our offences.”

P. 155.

“If any pray with his whole heart, if he pour forth
 “the groans of true repentance with lamentations and
 “tears, if he mitigate the Lord by uniform acts of juftice,
 “upon fuch perfons He can have mercy, who has proclaimed
 “his mercy, faying, ‘When thou turneft from
 “thy fins and repenteft, thou fhalt be faved: I defire not
 “the death of him that dieth, but that he fhould be converted
 “and live.”

P. 155. *From Cyprian's treatise "On Mortality."*

"He indeed may fear to die, who not being born
again of water and of the Spirit, is in bondage to the
fires of hell; he may fear to die, who has no part in the
cross and passion of Christ; he may fear to die, who
shall pass to a second death."

P. 156.

"My beloved brethren, we must consider, we must
always bear in mind, that we have renounced the
world, and that we pass our time of sojourning here as
pilgrims and strangers. Let us look forward to that
day, which assigns to each their proper habitation:
who that dwells from home would not hasten to return
to his country? Our country, so let us deem it, is pa-
radise. There dear friends in great numbers expect us:
there our fathers, brothers, sons, long for our arrival, a
large and goodly company, enjoying their own immor-
tality in security, and anxious now for our salvation.
How great will be the mutual joy to them and to us in
seeing and embracing each other! What will be the
pleasures of those heavenly kingdoms without fear of
dying, in eternal life! What perfect and perpetual fe-
licity! There is the glorious band of Apostles: there
the company of exulting prophets: there the innu-
merable army of martyrs, crowned with victory over
trials and sufferings: there triumphant virgins: the pi-
tiful of heart now recompensed with reward, who in
food and benefactions to the poor formerly did the
works of justice: and those who by keeping the Lord's
precepts have laid up earthly possessions in the treasure-
houses of heaven. To these, my beloved brethren, let
us hasten with all avidity: let our Lord Christ see the
fixed purpose of our mind and faith: he will give the

“ more ample rewards of his glory to those who shew
 “ greater love to him.”

P. 157. *From the address “ To Demetrian.”*

“ When we shall have departed this life, there will be
 “ no place for repentance, no efficacious satisfaction: here
 “ life is lost or retained: here by the worship of God,
 “ and by the fruit of faith, we must provide for our eter-
 “ nal salvation. While we live in this world, no repent-
 “ ance is too late. Christ imparts this grace, this is the
 “ free gift of his mercy, by subduing death with the tro-
 “ phy of the cross, by redeeming the believer with the
 “ price of his blood, by reconciling man to God the Fa-
 “ ther, by reviving man according to a heavenly regene-
 “ ration. Him, if we are able, let us all follow; let us
 “ all take part in his sacrament and symbol; he opens
 “ the way of life to us, he restores us to paradise, he will
 “ bring us to the kingdom of heaven.”

NUMB. III.

P. 165. *From Tertullian “ Upon Idolatry,” c. vi.*

“ Can you deny with your tongue what your hand
 “ confesses? Pull down by words what your actions build
 “ up? Acknowledge one God, you who make so many
 “ Gods? the true God, you who make false Gods? I
 “ make them, but I worship them not, say you. As if
 “ the same feeling which induces you to fear to worship
 “ them, would not also point out your duty to be not to
 “ make them: God is offended in both cases. Nay, you
 “ worship them, by making them to be worshipped. You
 “ worship them not with the vapour of some vile smell,
 “ but with your own breath: not with the life of some
 “ purchased animal, but with your own soul.—You

“ deny that you worship the work of your own hands ?
 “ But they (the devils) do not deny it, to whom you
 “ sacrifice your salvation, a victim more savoury, more
 “ adorned with gold, more valuable.”

P. 167.

“ He (the Pope) alone can depose or readmit Bishops.
 “ If any are excommunicated by him, we ought,
 “ among other things, not to remain in the same house
 “ with them.
 “ The name of Pope is alone in the world : there is
 “ none like it.
 “ He can depose sovereigns.
 “ His sentence, or decree, can be repealed by none : he
 “ alone can repeal all other decisions.
 “ He is to be judged by none.
 “ The Church of Rome has never erred : and by the
 “ testimony of Scripture, she never will err.
 “ He is not to be thought a Catholic, who is not in
 “ union with the Church of Rome.
 “ The Pope (or the Church) can absolve the subjects
 “ of iniquitous princes from their allegiance.”
 “ Thus far Gregory concerning the privileges of the
 “ Roman Pontiff and of the Apostolical See.

P. 171. *From Irenæus*, book iii. chap. 3.

“ To this Church (of Rome), on account of its superior
 “ headship, every other must have recourse, that is, the
 “ faithful of all countries.”

P. 172. *From Tertullian “ On Prescriptions against He-*
retics,” ch. 36.

“ Now would you exercise your curiosity to better
 “ purpose in the business of salvation, run through the
 “ Apostolic Churches, in which the chairs in which

“ the Apostles sat are now filled ; where their authentic
 “ Epistles are read, conveying the sound of their voices,
 “ and the representation of their persons. Are you a
 “ neighbour of Achaia, you have the Church at Corinth.
 “ If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi,
 “ you have Thessalonica. Pass into Asia, there is Ephe-
 “ sus : in Italy, Rome ; an authority to which we can
 “ readily appeal. Happy Church, which the Apostles
 “ fully impregnated with all their doctrine, and with their
 “ blood !”

P. 173. and note. *From Tertullian “ On Chastity,”* ch. 1,
 21, 22.

“ I hear also that a decree, a peremptory decree has
 “ been issued. The Chief Pontiff truly, the Bishop of Bi-
 “ shops speaks ; ‘ I absolve penitents from the sins of adul-
 “ tery and fornication.’ O edict of evil !”

“ Who could forgive sins, but God alone ? Whence do
 “ you usurp this right for your Church ? If, because the
 “ Lord said to Peter ; ‘ Upon this rock I will build my
 “ Church ; I have given to thee the keys of the kingdom
 “ of heaven ; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, &c.’
 “ you therefore presume that the power of loosing and
 “ binding is derived to you, that is to say, to every kin-
 “ dred Church of St. Peter : see how you overturn and
 “ alter the manifest intention of our Lord, in conferring
 “ this on Peter personally. Acts xv. ‘ Why do ye tempt
 “ the Lord in imposing a yoke, &c. By the grace of Je-
 “ sus we believe that we shall be saved.’ This sentence
 “ loosened and bound the things which were omitted or
 “ left open in the law. Therefore the power of loosing
 “ and binding delivered to Peter has nothing to do with
 “ the capital sins of the faithful. Right, power, and ju-
 “ risdiction belong to the Master, not to the servant ; to
 “ God himself, not to the Priest.”

P. 174. *From Cyprian, Ep. lv.*

“ And if the number of African Bishops seemed insufficient, I wrote moreover to Rome concerning the affair of the lapsed, to Cornelius, our colleague, who himself, in council with many fellow-bishops, with equal gravity and wholesome moderation, coincided in opinion with us. I think myself obliged to shew, that I acted not lightly, &c.”

From Ep. xlix.

“ We are not ignorant that there is one God, one Christ our Lord, whom we have confessed, one Holy Ghost, and that there should be one Bishop in the Catholic Church.”

P. 175. *From Cyprian, Ep. lix.*

“ Heresies and schisms have had no other origin and fountain than disobedience to God's priest: because respect is not paid to one priest for the time in the Church, to one judge in the place of Christ.”

From Ep. lix.

“ Afterwards the Heretics, having constituted for themselves a false Bishop, dare to set sail, and to carry letters from schismatics and infidels to the Chair of Peter, and the Head Church, from whence the unity of the priesthood originated: nor did they consider who those Romans were, whose faith the Apostle extolled, with whom perfidy cannot avail.”

“ We all determined, according to equity and justice, that the cause of each should be heard there, where the offence was committed; and that each pastor should have the charge of a portion of the flock under his rule and government, of which he must give account to the

“ Lord. Those therefore who are under us should not
 “ hurry to all parts, nor make a breach in the episcopal
 “ union by their crafty and fallacious temerity.”

P. 176. note. *From Cyprian's treatise “ On the Unity of
 “ the Church.”*

“ Although he gives to all the Apostles equal power,
 “ and says; ‘ As my Father sent me, so send I you, &c.’
 “ yet that he might make manifest the unity, he by his
 “ authority framed the origin of this unity to begin from
 “ one. Therefore what Peter was, the other Apostles
 “ were also, invested with an equal partnership of honour
 “ and power; but the beginning issues from one, that the
 “ Church may be demonstrated to be one.”

P. 176.

“ For none of us has constituted himself Bishop of Bi-
 “ shops, nor forces his colleagues by tyranny and terror
 “ to a constrained obedience: since every Bishop has his
 “ own jurisdiction, according to the extent of his liberty
 “ and power; and can no more be judged by another,
 “ than he himself can judge others.. But let us all wait
 “ for the judgment of the Lord of all, Jesus Christ, who
 “ himself alone has the power of making us overseers
 “ and governors in his Church, and of judging our acts.”

P. 177.

“ Cyprian to Cornelius, his *brother*: to Stephen, his
 “ *brother*.” “ Cornelius to Cyprian, his *brother*.”

“ Blessed Pope.”

“ Beloved brother, I exhort and request you to do at
 “ my solicitation, what of your own accord you have of-
 “ ten honoured me by doing, namely, to let this my
 “ letter be read before your excellent coadjutors, the
 “ Clergy, and your holy flock.”

P. 178. note. *From Firmilian's Letter.*

“ Upon this question I am justly indignant at the open
 “ and manifest folly of Stephen (then Bishop of Rome):
 “ because he who glories in his particular bishopric, and
 “ contends that he is Peter's Successor, upon whom the
 “ foundations of the Church are laid, yet introduces
 “ many other rocks, and erects many new Churches, by
 “ defending upon his authority the baptism they have
 “ among them.”

“ That at Rome they do not in all things observe the
 “ original traditions, and vainly pretend Apostolical au-
 “ thority, any one may understand from this circum-
 “ stance; that they differ concerning the time of keeping
 “ Easter, and many other holy rites of religion, and do
 “ not observe exactly the customs of Jerusalem.”

P. 180. *A sentence from Vincent of the Isle of Lerins,
 a great upholder of Tradition, A. D. 434.*

“ What has been believed by all, at all times, in all
 “ places.”

P. 184. and in the note. *From Cyprian's treatise “ Con-
 “ cerning the Lapsed.”*

“ Let no one flatter, and deceive himself: the Lord
 “ alone can shew mercy.”

“ Pardon to our sins, committed against him, he alone
 “ can grant, who bore our sins, who suffered for us,
 “ whom God delivered for our offences. Man cannot be
 “ greater than God; nor can the servant remit or pardon
 “ by his indulgence the more grievous faults committed
 “ against his Lord. Let the lapsed beware lest he add to
 “ his offence by forgetting the prophecy, ‘ Cursed be
 “ the man who trusts in man.’ Pray to the Lord: the
 “ Lord is to be appeased by our satisfaction; who has
 “ said, that he will deny those who deny him, who alone
 “ has received all judgment from the Father. We believe

“ indeed that the merits of martyrs and the works of just
 “ men avail much with our Judge; that is to say, when
 “ the day of judgment shall come, when, after the fall of
 “ this age and world, Christ’s people shall stand before
 “ his judgment-seat. But if any one, with premature
 “ haste, has the temerity to suppose that he can remit
 “ sins, or dares to rescind the Lord’s precepts; instead of
 “ profiting, he injures the lapsed.”

“ Nor do we preoccupy the Lord’s power of judgment : if he shall find the repentance of the sinner full
 “ and just, then can he ratify our decision.”

“ What swelling arrogance, what forgetfulness of humility and lenity, what ostentatious arrogance, for any
 “ one to dare to do, or to believe that he can do, what
 “ even to the Apostles the Lord granted not, namely,
 “ distinguish the tares from the good corn! or, as if it
 “ were given to him to bear the fan and to purge the floor,
 “ to endeavour to separate the chaff from the wheat!”

P. 196. *From Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii.*

“ Moreover in vain do they, who are confuted by reason, oppose custom to us; as if custom were greater
 “ than truth, or that were not to be observed in spiritual
 “ things, which the Holy Spirit has revealed for our
 “ better direction.

“ After the inspiration and revelation which we have,
 “ he who wilfully and knowingly perseveres in error, sins
 “ without the excuse of ignorance: nothing but presumption and obstinacy can support him against reason.

“ Let no one say, we follow what we have received
 “ from the Apostles; for the Apostles delivered but one
 “ Church. Wherefore rejecting the errors of human
 “ contention, let us, with pure and religious faithfulness,
 “ return to the authority of the Gospel and of Apostolic
 “ tradition.”

P. 197. *Ep. lxxiv.*

“ For amongst other things either arrogant^a, or not to
 “ the purpose, or contradictory one to another, which he
 “ (Stephen Bishop of Rome) has written, without know-
 “ ledge and without caution, he has gone so far as to
 “ say: ‘ If any Heretic shall come to our communion, let
 “ there be no innovation upon tradition, only let his re-
 “ pentance be with imposition of hands.’—No innovation
 “ upon tradition! Whence is this tradition? Is it de-
 “ livered down to us, on the authority of the Lord and of
 “ the Gospel, or from the precepts and writings of the
 “ Apostles? For God himself testifies, that those things,
 “ which are written, are to be done. *Josh. i. 8.* And the
 “ Lord, sending his Apostles, commands the nations to
 “ be baptized, and to be taught to observe whatsoever he
 “ has commanded. If therefore it be prescribed in the
 “ Gospel, or contained in the Epistles or Acts of the
 “ Apostles; by all means let this divine and holy tradition
 “ be observed. What obstinacy, what presumption, to
 “ prefer the tradition of men to the divine ordinance,
 “ without considering that God is angry and provoked,
 “ whenever human tradition breaks and overlooks the
 “ divine commands!”

P. 199.

“ The custom which had crept in among some persons
 “ ought not to prevent the prevalence and victory of
 “ truth. Custom unfounded in truth is antiquity of error.
 “ Wherefore, leaving errors, let us follow truth; which
 “ Christ has manifested to us, saying in his Gospel, ‘ I am
 “ the truth.’”

“ If we revert to the head and fountain of tradition,

^a Cyprian's moderation forms a strong contrast: “ a primordio *Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consensu vestro* (the Presbyters and
 “ Deacons) *et sine consensu plebis meae privatim sententiam facere.*” *Ep.*
 xiv. p. 33.

“ error ceases. If an aqueduct fails, do we not have recourse to the well-spring, to trace the cause of deficiency? Now this the Priests of God ought to do, to observe the divine commands; so that if the truth shall at all waver and seem doubtful, we should trace it back to its origin from our Lord, and his Gospel, and Apostolical tradition: that the reason of what we do may be simultaneous with our order and origin.”

P. 208. note. *From Irenæus*, book iv. ch. 75, 6.

“ It is good to obey God, and to believe in him, and to keep his commands; and this is man’s life: as not to obey God is evil, and man’s death. Man, by a greatness of mind which is the gift of God, has knowledge of the good of obedience and of the evil of disobedience; so that, making experience of both by his mind’s eye, he may choose with judgment the better part. First you must keep your place as man, and then you may be a partaker of the glory of God. Mollify your heart, and present it tractable to him: preserve that form, in which the great Artist has moulded you; if you are a vessel without moisture, you may by induration lose the traces of his fingers. To make is the property of the lovingkindness of God: to be made is the property of human nature. If therefore you offer to him what is your part, that is, faith in him and submission to his will, you will receive the workmanship of his art, and will be God’s perfect work. But if you do not trust in him, and make your escape from his hands, the cause of imperfection will be in you who have not obeyed, not in him who called. He has sent messengers to call to the wedding; and those, who have not obeyed him, have deprived themselves of the King’s supper.”

“ They who have gone aside from the light of the Fa-

“thér, and have transgressed the law of liberty, have
 “gone astray through their own fault, being created free
 “of choice, and masters of themselves. But God, who
 “has foreknowledge of all things, has prepared fit habi-
 “tations for both : to those who seek the light of incor-
 “ruption, and run after it, he mercifully gives the light
 “which they long for : but he has prepared darknefs,
 “congenial to those who hate the light, for others who
 “despise it, and avert themselves from it, and as it were
 “blind themselves ; and those who fly from his service he
 “has appointed to fuitable punishment. But the service
 “of God is rest and peace everlasting.”

P. 210. *From Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. p. 667. Edit.*

Paris. 1641.

“I think that the orders here in the Church of Bi-
 “shops, Priests, and Deacons, are imitations of angelical
 “glory : and of the dispensation, which, the Scriptures
 “say, awaits those who, treading in the footsteps of the
 “Apostles, shall have lived in the fulfilment of righteous-
 “ness, according to the Gospel.”

P. 210. *From Cyprian, Ep. xxxiii.*

“Through different ages, in regular succession, the or-
 “dination of Bishops and the order of the Church is de-
 “livered down, that the Church may be constituted upon
 “the Bishops ; that every act of the Church may be go-
 “verned by the same rulers.”

P. 211. *From Cyprian, Ep. xlv.*

“My heart pains me, and I feel an intolerable depres-
 “sion of mind, from finding that, contrary to every eccle-
 “siastical ordinance, contrary to the law of the Gospel,
 “contrary to the unity of the Catholic establishment, you
 “have consented to the appointment of another, a second
 “Bishop, (of Novatian at Rome, where Cornelius was the

“lawful Bishop;) that is, what neither can nor ought to be done, to the formation of another Church, to the tearing asunder Christ’s members, to the dividing the Lord’s flock, which is one in spirit and one body, by zealous contention.”

P. 211. *Ep. xvi.*

“How great reason have we to be afraid of the wrath of God, when some Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor of their own station, nor thinking on the future judgment of God, nor considering that they have a Bishop now their governor, dare to assume all to themselves, to the contempt of their governor; a thing never before attempted under any of my predecessors.”

P. 211. and note. *Ep. iii.*

“You have acted in a manner which confers honour upon me, and according to your wonted humility, in preferring to bring your complaint against him (the refractory Presbyter) before me; although by force of the Episcopal office itself, and in the exercise of the authority of your see, you possessed the power of summarily righting yourself.”

“The Deacons should remember, that the Lord chose Apostles, that is to say, Bishops and Governors; but the Apostles constituted Deacons. What we may dare to do against God, who makes Bishops, that Deacons may dare to do against us, by whom they are appointed. Therefore the Deacon, concerning whom you write, ought to shew repentance for his audacity, and to acknowledge the honour due to the priesthood, and to satisfy the Bishop his ruler with all humility^a.”

^a Hooker long ago said to the Presbyterians: “We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, since the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.” Preface, sect. 4. And again: “Let

P. 218. *From Justin Martyr's "Apology,"* p. 93.

Ἐπειτα ἀγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδαρ ἐστι, καὶ τροπὸν ἀναγεννη-
σεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννηθήμεν ἀναγεννώμεθα· ἐπ' ὀνοματός
γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσποτοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρον
ποιούνται.

P. 218. *From Tertullian "On Baptism,"* c. 1, 6.

"Blessed is our sacrament of water, for by it the sins of
our former blindness are washed away, and we have
freedom to eternal life."

"As John was the forerunner of the Lord, preparing
his way; so the Angel, (Bishop or Minister,) who dis-
penses baptism, prepares the way for the coming of the
Holy Ghost by the ablution of sins, which faith, sealed
and witnessed in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, ac-
complishes."

P. 218. *From Cyprian's Address to Donatus.*

"After that the pollution of former habits had been
washed away by help of the water of life, light from
above poured itself into my breast, purified by expiation
from sin: after imbibing the heavenly Spirit, and a se-
cond birth formed me into a new man, I felt, by an
immediate and wonderful change, that confirmation
succeeded to doubt, hidden things were made manifest,
obscurity was turned into light. Knowledge was im-
parted to me: that what was born of the flesh, and be-
fore lived in the bondage of sin, was earthly; that
which the Holy Ghost had just animated and inspired,
began to be of God."

"us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if any thing in the
Church's government, surely the first institution of Bishops was from
heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it."
Ecclef. Polity, book vii. sect. 5.

P. 219. and note. *From Cyprian, Ep. lxiv.*

“ With regard to infants, who, when brought within
 “ the second or third day after birth, you say ought not
 “ to be baptized, in consideration of the ancient law of
 “ circumcision: our council is unanimously of a contrary
 “ opinion: we have all with one consent judged, that it
 “ is not right to deny the mercy and grace of God to any
 “ son of man.”

“ Since the Lord in his Gospel says: ‘ The Son of
 “ man came not to destroy men’s lives, but save;’ as far as
 “ it is possible on our part, no soul is to be lost. As God
 “ accepts not persons, so does he not accept ages: with
 “ impartial equity he offers himself a Father to all, that
 “ they may attain eternal life.—But if any thing could
 “ hinder men from the attainment of grace; then much
 “ more the heavier weight of sins would hinder those who
 “ are advanced in years. Moreover, if remission of sins
 “ is given to true believers, though they may have been
 “ in former life the greatest of sinners towards God, and
 “ no one is debarred from baptism and from grace; much
 “ less ought an infant to be debarred, who being just
 “ born has sinned in nothing, except that, being of the
 “ flesh and race of Adam, his nature has contracted the
 “ original contagion of death. Therefore, dear brother,
 “ this was our decision in council, that we ought to im-
 “ pede none from baptism and the grace of God; who is
 “ merciful, kind, and of tender love to all. As this is to
 “ be observed and practised towards all men; especially
 “ we think it should be observed in the case of infants
 “ lately born, who have more claims upon our assistance,
 “ and upon the divine mercy for this very reason, that in
 “ their helpless state they can only supplicate with cries
 “ and tears.”

P. 222. *From Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii.*

“Hence we understand, that only governors in the Church, and those who are established on the foundation of the law of the Gospel and divine ordination, have power to baptize and remit sins: out of the Church nothing can be loosed or bound, for there is no one who can loose or bind. Nor do we lay down this rule without the authority of holy Scripture, in saying that all these things are disposed by God according to a certain law and a peculiar ordination; and that no person can take any authority upon himself, in opposition to the Bishops and Priests, in matters not within his province. For Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, &c. The same punishment awaits those who introduce without right a foreign and false baptism^a.”

“Since the sins of each person are remitted in baptism, the Lord proves and proclaims in his Gospel, that sins can be forgiven by those only, who have the Holy Ghost.” *Ep. lxix.*

P. 223. *From Cyprian's treatise “Of the Unity of the Church.”*

“These are they who preside among the hot-headed in conventicles without divine appointment, who constitute themselves rulers without any law of ordination, who assume the name of Bishops, and receive Episcopacy from no hands but their own. Against men of this stamp the Lord himself cries out; he restrains and recalls from them his erring flock, saying, ‘They speak a vision out of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord.’ *Jer. xxiii. 16.* They cannot attain

^a The opinions of the Fathers of the first three centuries are shewn to be in opposition to the peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome and of the Dissenters, in a useful work, entitled, “A Treatise on the Government of the Church.” Published at Dublin, 1811.

" peace, who have broken the Lord's peace by the fury
 " of discord. Let them not deceive themselves by a vain
 " interpretation of the Lord's words, 'Where two or
 " three are gathered together in my name, there am I in
 " the midst of them.' Those who corrupt and falsely in-
 " terpret the Gospel, strain particular passages to an ex-
 " treme meaning, and pass over the preceding context :
 " part they remember, and part they craftily suppress.
 " As they are divided from the Church, thus they sepa-
 " rate one particular text from Scripture. When the
 " Lord was persuading his Disciples to unanimity and
 " peace, he shews that he paid more regard to the unani-
 " mity of supplicants than to their numbers. 'If two of
 " you,' he says, 'shall agree upon earth :' union and con-
 " cord are the previous conditions, then 'I am with
 " them ;' I am with the simple-minded, the peaceable,
 " with those who fear God, and keep his commandments.
 " But how can he agree with any, who does not agree
 " with the body of the Church, and the whole brother-
 " hood ? For we have not separated from them, but they
 " from us."

NUMB. IV.

The two following documents exhibit the excess of
 Pontifical tyranny, and the light, which shewed the way
 to liberty, from the torch of Erasmus.

" Bonifacius (A. D. 1303.) Episcopus Servus Servorum
 " Dei, sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quam imperscruta-
 " bilis divinæ providentiæ altitudo universis dispositione
 " incommutabili prætulit ecclesiis, et totius orbis præci-
 " puum obtinere voluit magistratum) regimini præfidentes
 " curis agitamur continuis, &c."

Corpus Juris Canonici Sext. Decretal. Lib. p. 1, 2.

“ Unam sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam et ipsam Apostolicam, urgente fide, credere cogimur et tenere.

“ In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritalem videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Luc. xxii. Uterque est in potestate Ecclesiæ, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesiâ, ille ab Ecclesiâ exercendus. Ille Sacerdotis, in manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam Sacerdotis. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spiritali subjici potestati. Spiritalem, et dignitate et nobilitate, terrenam quamlibet præcellere potestatem, oportet tanto clarius nos fateri, quanto spiritalia temporalia antecellunt.

“ Si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spiritali: sed si deviat spiritalis, minor a suo superiori. Si vero Suprema, a solo Deo non ab homine poterit judicari. Est autem hæc auctoritas, etsi data sit homini, et exerceatur per hominem, non humana sed potius divina, sic divino Petro data, sibique suisque successoribus, in ipso quem confessus fuit, petra firmata^a: dicente Domino ipsi Petro, ‘Quodcunque ligaveris &c.’

“ Quicunque igitur huic potestati, a Deo sic ordinatæ, resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit; nisi duo (sicut Manichæus) fingat esse principia: quod falsum et hæreticum judicamus: quia, testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio, cælum Deus creavit et terram.

“ Porro, subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronuntiamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.

“ Datum Latera. ponti. nostri anno 8.”

Ibid. Extravagant. Commun. de Majoritate et Obedientia, lib. i. p. 219.

Erasmus, in an Exposition on the thirty-eighth Psalm,

^b Note of explanation: “Firmata in ipso Christo petra, quam Petrus confessus fuit.”

as a check to the plea of infallibility, points out the errors which have been committed by the best men; and asserts, though with some caution, that no men and no books are faultless, except Jesus Christ, and the canonical Scriptures. He instances in the Fathers of the Church: and we have already quoted (see Sermon I. p. 13.) his strictures upon Origen, whose genius preserved him not from heresy; upon Tertullian, who, notwithstanding his learning and discernment, lapsed into the schism of Montanus; upon Cyprian, a man of Apostolic sanctity, who declared baptism by Heretics to be void: and upon Irenæus, whose knowledge and love of true religion were not sufficient to defend him from the error of the Millenarians.

Erasmus, in continuation of his subject, brings to view the mistakes of succeeding Fathers. He says: St. Ambrose makes Peter's denial of Christ an allegory; that the errors of Lactantius are too obvious to need enumeration; "Jerome, that pillar of the Church, thought that he "who married a second wife after baptism, the first wife "being dead, should be ejected from the priesthood for "bigamy: the Church decrees differently." "Augustin; "than whom no one has more genius or circumspection, "is perhaps free from error. No: he thought that baptism availed not to infants, without the body and blood "of our Lord. How often does he deny the merit of "good works, and ascribe salvation to grace? He asserts "that the Apostle erred in a matter of faith, after having "received the Holy Ghost."

Chrysostom thought confession of sins to the Priest not necessary, but only to God. Hilary speaks improperly

“ Idem quot locis inculcat nulla esse hominum merita? Quoties “ universam hominis salutem ascribit gratiæ? Assuevit Petrum Apostolum, post acceptum Spiritum sanctum errasse in fide, tribuens illi “ perversam voluntatem, ac superstitiosum studium gentibus imponendi “ Mosaicæ legis jugum.”

of the Holy Ghost, as "Spiritus Dei Patris." Gregory thought marriage impure; and that no image should be worshipped; "nullum manufactum ullo modo adorandum." Writers of inferior celebrity, Bernard, Gerson, Thomas, Scot, committed many errors.

"How many things are contained in the decrees and decretal epistles of the Popes, which would now be considered heretical. For we are now come to the chief Pontiffs, whom some deny to be fallible, at least in matters of faith and morality^d. What is the mean-

^d "In decretis ac decretalibus epistolis Pontificum quam multa reseruntur, quæ nunc haberentur hæretica? Jam enim venimus ad summos Pontifices, quos quidam negant posse labi, duntaxat in his quæ spectant ad fidem et bonos mores. Quid igitur sibi vult, quod frequenter posterior Pontifex rescindit de mortui decreta. Nonne Joannes vigesimus secundus, de paupertate Christi et Apostolorum dissentit a Nicolao? Ne commemorem tot errores quos illi intentant Occanistæ, certè de piorum animabus, non fruituris visione beatificâ ante resurrectionem, et huic adhærentes sententias damnavit etiam Schola Parisiensium. Nonne Innocentius tertius pugnat cum Celestino, qui jus fecerat iterandi conjugii, si alter fuisset prolapsus in hæresim. Nonne Pelagii constitutionem de conjugibus adimendis Siciliæ diaconis, quas ante edictum proditum legitimè duxerant, Gregorius primus abrogavit, tanquam Evangelio repugnantem et proinde hæreticam. Rursus quod damnat Gregorius, probat Innocentius tertius. Adhæc quod Romani Pontifices statuerant, ut qui cum duabus contraxisset ea esset uxor, quam cognovisset, nonne rescindit Innocentius tertius, pronuncians eam esse uxorem, cum quâ prius contraxerat. Jam si quis excutiat præscas Synodos, quam multa reperiet, quæ nunc multis nominibus pateant calumniæ. Quorum illud est, quod in Synodo Synodi Constantinopolitanæ, quod hodiè canitur in sacrificio missæ, Spiritus sanctus tantum dicitur ex Patre procedere: atque ibi quum Filius pronuncietur Deus verus ex Deo vero, Spiritus sanctus tantum Dominus dicitur. De simonia quam multa decreta sunt, quorum alia nunc sunt usu abrogata, alia veluti perperam definita, reprobata. Prioris generis sunt tam multæ constitutiones de libertate electionis, de multitudine sacerdotiorum, de immunitatibus ecclesiarum: posterioris quod simoniacus ordinans nihil agit, sed quod accipit sacrilegium est, quod dat lepra est. Sed quod ego hoc pelagus immensum aggredior. Laudata et theologorum pia civilitas qui talia

ing then, that one Pontiff often rescinds the decrees of his deceased predecessor? Did not John the twenty-second differ from Nicholas, concerning the poverty of Christ and his Apostles? Is not Innocent the third at variance with Celestine, who allowed a second marriage, in case one of the parties were heretical? Pope Pelagius ordained, that the Sicilian Deacons should be deprived of their lawful wives: Gregory the first abrogated this ordinance, as repugnant to the Gospel, and therefore heretical. And again what Gregory condemns, Innocent the third approves, &c. But wherefore should I engage in this boundless subject? The pious courtesy of theologians is to be commended, who, when such things fall in their way, either decline them, as they term it, or give them a convenient interpretation: such concession is made to antiquity, and to

quoties incurrant, aut declinant, ut ipsi solent loqui, aut commodè interpretantur: datur hoc antiquitati, datur vitæ sanctimonie. Audio et probo. Sed interim verum est quod proposui, ne summos quidem viros potuisse cavere quin alicubi laberentur."

Erasmus feelingly adds: "Accedit huc prodigiosa quædam hominum ingratitudo: pro tam multis bene dictis nulla est gratia, unus et alter lapsus, licet humanus, sævis exagitur modis. Tantorum laborum ac vigiliarum memoriam obruunt pauculi nævi. At miser ille pro tot vigiliis, pro tantis sudoribus præmii loco refert furiosos clamores, confoditur veneno tinctis linguis, lapidatur petulantissimis libellis, undique sic tunditur rixantium, et conviciantium vocibus, ut se nec aures habere credat nec oculos. Sunt enim ingenia quæ dicas in hoc nata, ut aliis aliquid præclari molientibus obstreant, ac rem piam sedulo conantibus oppedant, ipsa nihil ex sese pariant. Deinde paulatim contagio serpit lues, et usque gliscit incendium, donec omnibus phanatico spiritu afflatis undique clametur, Crucifige, crucifige. Generosus animus nihil habet famâ clarius, adeo ut multi mortem minus horreant quam ignominiam." *Erasmi Enarratio in Psalm. xxxviii.* lib. v. p. 362. *Edit. Basil. apud Froben. 1540.*

In the 28th book of Erasmus's Epistles, vol. iii. of the same edition, the reader will find a distinct and judicious account of most of the Fathers: Erasmus published these works at Basil, and prefixed prefaces addressed to distinguished men.

“sanctity. I hear and I approve: I only mean to assert
 “the truth of my proposition, that the best and greatest
 “men are fallible.”

NUMB. V.

Extract from M. Daillé's treatise “De Ufu Patrum,”
Genev. 1686. p. 9. and 356.

“Justin and Tertullian and Clement declare the vanity
 “of false deities, and teach that the objects of heathen
 “worship, Jupiter, Mars, Juno, were in fact mortals; and
 “that there is one only God, the Creator of heaven and
 “earth. Irenæus overthrows Basilides, Valentinus, and
 “the other Gnostics, those monsters, and fabricators of a
 “theology at once the most detestable and the most un-
 “wise. Tertullian also refutes the Gnostics, and more-
 “over combats Marcion, and Hermogenes, and Apelles
 “and Praxeas, and others who constituted two gods or
 “two first principles; or who confounded the persons of
 “the Father and of the Son. Cyprian employs himself
 “almost entirely in promoting discipline and virtue in the
 “Church of Christ.

“That the authority of the primitive writings is su-
 “preme and infallible we indeed deny: but we do not
 “therefore think them useless. If nothing but what
 “is infallible were conducive to the interests of reli-
 “gion, all human compositions would be vain. We read
 “with great advantage the authors of our own time, and
 “of an age immediately preceding. How much more
 “advantageous must the study of the Fathers be, whose
 “piety, if not greater, is at least more conspicuous than
 “that of moderns? Augustin despised not the ancients,
 “because he thought the truth of their opinions rested

“ upon the light of reason and the authority of Scripture.
 “ The same may be said of Jerome, who perused the
 “ Fathers, though he noted their mistakes. Take from
 “ the primitive writers, I do not say that sovereign autho-
 “ rity, which they never claimed, but their reputation and
 “ very name: their writings will not in that case be
 “ useless. For books profit, not because they are com-
 “ posed by this or that person, but because they teach
 “ useful truths, and proscribe error and vice. Expunge,
 “ if you please, the name of Augustin from the frontif-
 “ piece of those capital treatises ‘De Civitate Dei’ and
 “ ‘De Doctrinâ Christianâ;’ I should still receive informa-
 “ tion of the most valuable kind from both works, al-
 “ though I knew not the author of them. The same
 “ reasoning holds good with respect to other Fathers.

“ Above all, in these ancient records are scattered very
 “ many solemn exhortations to holiness of life, and the
 “ observation of Christian duties. There are numerous
 “ and obvious passages, which copiously illustrate and
 “ confirm the universally acknowledged fundamentals of
 “ the Christian religion: many useful explanations of
 “ Scripture, and the mysteries contained in Scripture:
 “ and thus they are of great weight in proving the truth
 “ of Christianity. For, let me ask, is it not a wonderful
 “ thing, that so many men, endowed with strong under-
 “ standings and a felicity of genius, born through so
 “ many centuries in different countries, differing in dis-
 “ positions, in pursuits, and sometimes in opinion, should
 “ firmly consent and agree in all the fundamentals of
 “ Christianity, as with one mind and one will; and,
 “ however they may differ on other points, should wor-
 “ ship one Christ? should teach the same sanctification?
 “ should hope in the same immortality? should receive
 “ the same Gospels; and all behold in them great and
 “ sublime mysteries? I confess the truth of Christianity

“ is sufficiently established by the reason of things, by the
“ excellence and wisdom of all its precepts, by an extra-
“ ordinary and inherent beauty, which makes its celestial
“ origin self-evident, without any more certain or striking
“ proofs. Still the astonishing consent of the Fathers,
“ upon the subject of the truth of the Gospel, is no light
“ testimony to the same effect. For it is quite improbable
“ that so many men, possessed, as these memorials shew,
“ of clear and superior intellect, should be so stupidly be-
“ wildered, as to place the sum of every thing in the
“ religion of Christ, to stake for this religion their whole
“ fortunes, to encounter for it all kinds of difficulties and
“ dangers, to spend their lives for it willingly and joy-
“ fully ; unless there be really in this religion a heavenly
“ virtue and efficacy in making an impression on the
“ souls of men. Is it credible that these heroes, who
“ with such admirable constancy agreed in the truth of
“ the Gospel, had views of things less clear and just than
“ some few Atheists, who have here and there vented
“ their calumnies against Christian holiness, so foully and
“ unreasonably, that they appear more like barking dogs
“ and swine, than men gifted with the faculty of speech ?
“ Did these persons possess in reality those powers of
“ mind, of which they falsely and foolishly boast, still
“ their own morals and way of life would invalidate their
“ testimony. For it is not surprising, that men, devoted
“ to ambition and the gratification of their lusts, should
“ defame that discipline which condemns the proud, and
“ whoremongers, and drunkards, to eternal punishment.
“ They easily persuade themselves that Christianity is
“ false, because it is their interest that it should be false.
“ To attach importance to the calumnies of such wretches
“ against religion, is the same thing as to listen to the
“ opinion of thieves and strumpets, concerning laws made
“ for the preservation of morality.

“ Very different was the conduct of those holy men;
“ who persevered in their Christian profession. Born and
“ educated in infirmities, doubtless they were, like other
“ men, naturally prone to those vices which the law of
“ Christ forbids, and averse from its salutary injunctions.
“ Nevertheless they proclaimed its truth, and their testi-
“ mony is not open to suspicion. Therefore, even if the
“ Fathers did not, as they manifestly do, excel Infidels in
“ understanding and knowledge, yet their bare word
“ ought to carry more weight than any testimony from
“ the opposite quarter.

“ The disagreement which we have noticed to exist, be-
“ tween the Fathers, upon some points, is so far from
“ detracting from the value of their evidence, that it en-
“ hances it, as it frees them from all imputation of collu-
“ sion. It proves that the unanimity, with which they
“ speak of Christ, proceeded from no confederacy. They,
“ who are perceived to differ on many subjects, cannot
“ derive their agreement upon others from any mutual
“ settled communication : but it must proceed from me-
“ ditation and fixed consideration of the subject itself.
“ And if this were the only use of the works and monu-
“ ments of the Fathers, it would be an ample recom-
“ mendation to study them.

“ Notwithstanding the differences and errors of the
“ Fathers, the most grateful fruit may be gathered from
“ their writings. For Christianity consists not in sub-
“ tleties and casuistry, &c.” See Sermon VIII. p. 249.

AN ABSTRACT
OF
JUSTIN MARTYR'S DIALOGUE
WITH
TRYPHO THE JEW.

Ἐπει εἰ νοήσατε τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξη-
γείσθε αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεόν, τοῦ μονοῦ καὶ ἀγεννητοῦ καὶ ἀρρήτου Θεοῦ
υἱόν.

Dial. cum Tryphon. p. 355. Ed. Coloniae.

“ If ye had understood the sayings of the Prophets, ye would
“ not be found denying that this is God, the Son of the only,
“ unbegotten, ineffable God.”

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AN ABSTRACT
OF
JUSTIN MARTYR'S DIALOGUE
WITH
TRYPHO THE JEW.

A. D. 150.

I.

JUSTIN relates the manner of his being accosted by Trypho and his companions, in the public Portico at Ephesus. Trypho declares himself a Jew, and expresses his fondness for the Grecian philosophy: Justin admonishes him of its futility, and of the superior importance of the Jewish Scriptures; he points out the doubts and ignorance of heathen philosophers on the subjects of the nature of God and of a future state, and observes, that they attracted followers, not from an admiration of any real knowledge they possessed, but by their conspicuous virtues, by their fortitude and temperance, and the novelty and elegance of their language. He states his own experience of the vanity of these teachers^c, and the extraordinary direction he received to Christianity, that truly divine wisdom which no man can understand, unless the Spirit of God be with him. The Jews ridicule Justin believing in Christ. It were better, say they, to have re-

^c See the account of Justin in Sermon III.

mained a follower of Plato, and an observer of moral virtue, than to leave God and place your hopes in a man. They wish to persuade him to embrace their faith, instead of foolishly throwing away this life by an adherence to this obscure and false Messiah.

He enters into a defence of his religion, and begins by alluding to the calumnies propagated against Christians, which Trypho candidly admits to be incredible. The Jew expresses moreover his admiration of the purity and sublimity of the Gospel, which he read from motives of curiosity : and is surprised that men, professing to receive the Mosaic writings as the word of God, should yet neglect the Mosaic ritual. Justin declares, that the God of the Jews and of the Christians is the same ; he quotes Isaiah li. 4, 5. and lv. 3, 5. and Jeremiah xxxi. 31, 34. to prove the promises of a new, a superior, and a spiritual covenant ; and he makes an extract at length from the 52d and 53d chapters of Isaiah, of prophecies applicable to the person of Jesus Christ. Again from Isaiah lv. 7. and lviii. he shews, that the ceremonial law was in its design temporary and typical, and that God always required, not only outward observances, but the inward obedience of the heart.

II.

He continues thus : “ Renounce therefore your broken cisterns, and be baptized with the water of repentance. Cleanse your souls from anger, from avarice, from envy, and from hatred ; and, behold, your bodies will be pure. That external rite of circumcision, which ye received from Abraham, is now become a mark of reproach ; your country and your cities are laid waste, and your land strangers devour it in your presence. All these judgments are fallen upon you, because ye put to death that Just One, and his prophets. You tell me, O Trypho, that you have read the Gospel of our

“ Saviour: consider the spiritual worship which he en-
 “ joins, and how he admonishes you that external rites
 “ were commanded on account of the hardness of your
 “ hearts. Ye stand in need of our circumcision; but when
 “ we have circumcised the evil affections of the heart, we
 “ want not that which is outward in the flesh. No such
 “ external ceremony is absolutely necessary to please God;
 “ as is proved by the examples of Adam, Abel, Enoch,
 “ Lot, Noah, and Melchisedec, who were all uncircum-
 “ cised in the flesh. To you alone, on account of your
 “ impiety and wickedness, the ordinances of the Law
 “ were necessary: and because you were prone to forget
 “ God, he restrained you from particular kinds of food,
 “ though he had given every living thing for food to
 “ Noah. He appointed sacrifices and ordinances, not
 “ because he took pleasure in them, but that he might
 “ restrain you from idolatry. Ezech. xlv. 24. Amos v. 26.
 “ Psalm xlix. And for the same reason he ordered a
 “ temple to be built at Jerusalem. The patriarchs ob-
 “ served not circumcision, neither can women: it is there-
 “ fore evident that it is a symbol and mark, and not one
 “ of those works of justice, without which none can
 “ please God. The blood of circumcision is now abro-
 “ gated, and we believe in a saving blood^f. There is
 “ now another covenant, and testament; another law
 “ has gone forth from Sion, even Jesus Christ, who cir-
 “ cumcises all who are willing^g, that they may be a just
 “ nation, a people observant of faith, truth, and peace.
 “ Come therefore with me, all ye who fear the Lord,
 “ who wish to see the prosperity of Jerusalem: come, let
 “ us enter into the light of the Lord: for he has freed
 “ his people, even the house of Jacob. Come together,

^f Αἱματι σωτηριᾶς πιστοποιουμένην. p. 241.

^g Πιστευοῖς μαχαίραις, alluding perhaps both to Peter and to Zipporah, Exod. iv. 25. See p. 342. of the Dialogue with Trypho.

"all ye nations: let us assemble in Jerusale^m, which is
 "no longer besieged for the iniquity of the people: for
 "the Lord cries by Isaia^h, 'I am sought of them that
 "asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me
 "not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that
 "was not called by my name. I have spread out my
 "hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which
 "walketh in a way that was not good, after their own
 "thoughts; a people that provoketh me to anger to my
 "face^h;' a people who wish to have the lot of their in-
 "heritance with us, even for a little space, justifying
 "themselves, and saying that they are children of Abra-
 "ham. The Holy Spirit proclaimed this by the mouth
 "of Isaia^h: 'Doubtless thou art our father, though
 "Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us
 "not: thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemerⁱ.
 "Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness,
 "and Jerusale^m a desolation. Our holy and our beau-
 "tiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt up
 "with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste^k."

III.

"What say you?" interrupted *Trypho*: "that none
 "of us shall obtain an inheritance in the holy moun-
 "tain?" *Justin*. "I speak only of those who have
 "persecuted, and do yet persecute Christ, without re-
 "pentance. And the Gentiles who believe in Christ,
 "and repent of their sins, will inherit together with the
 "patriarchs, and prophets, and all the just sons of Jacob:
 "although they observe not the Jewish sabbaths, and cir-
 "cumcision, and holy-days. Thus God says by Isaia^h:
 "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will
 "hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a

^h Isaia^h lxxv. 1, 2, 3.ⁱ lxxiii. 16.^k lxxiv. 10, 11.

‘covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to
 ‘open the blind eyes, &c.^l’ And again: ‘Lift up a
 ‘standard for the people. Behold, the Lord hath pro-
 ‘claimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daugh-
 ‘ter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his
 ‘reward is with him, and his work before him. And
 ‘they shall call them, The holy people, The redeemed of
 ‘the Lord: and thou shalt be called, Sought out, A city
 ‘not forsaken^m.’ ‘Who is this that cometh from E-
 ‘dom; with dyed garments from Bosrah, &c.ⁿ”

Trypho. “You select what you please from the pro-
 ‘phetical writings; but you omit those passages which
 ‘clearly enjoin the observance of the Sabbath; as Isaiah
 ‘lviii. 13.”

Justin. “I have not passed over these prophecies, my
 ‘friends, because I thought they made against me. Un-
 ‘derstand that the Lord issues by the prophets the same
 ‘commands, as by Moses: on account of your hardness
 ‘of heart and ingratitude, his injunctions are always the
 ‘same; in order that ye may be reformed and please
 ‘him, and not sacrifice your sons and your daughters to
 ‘devils, and not be partakers with thieves, lovers of
 ‘gifts, followers of rewards, not judging the fatherless,
 ‘nor the cause of the widow; and that your hands may
 ‘not be full of blood^o. ‘For the daughters of Zion
 ‘have walked with stretched forth necks, and wanton
 ‘eyes, and long trains to their garments^p.’ ‘For all,’
 ‘he cries, ‘have gone out of the way, all are become
 ‘abominable; there is none that doeth good, no not one.
 ‘Their throat is an open sepulchre: adders’ poison is
 ‘under their lips. Destruction and wasting are in their
 ‘paths, and the way of peace have they not known^q.’

^l Isaiah xlii. 6, 7.

^m lxii. 10, 11, 12.

ⁿ lxiii. 1.

^o Isaiah i. 23.

^p iii. 16.

^q Psalm xiv. 3. v. 9. cxi. 3. Isaiah lix. 7, 8.

"The Law was originally given on account of your of-
 fences; and it was continued, because ye continued
 in them. Would God, think you, have enjoined your
 priests to offer sacrifices on the sabbath-day, and chil-
 dren to be circumcised on the sabbath-day, if these
 things had been sin? Could he not have commanded
 that the child should be circumcised on the day before,
 or the day after, the sabbath? The patriarchs too, be-
 fore Moses and Abraham, men renowned for their
 righteousness and accepted with God, wherefore were
 they not enjoined circumcision and the observance of
 the sabbath? *Trypho* could only answer, Thus it pleased
 God: the usual pretext of those, who have no reason-
 able defence to make. On the other hand said I, I bring
 you arguments and proofs from Scripture and from facts:
 delay not therefore; listen to me, though uncircumcised;
 and become profelytes to Christ, while time is yours, and
 before his coming, when your repentance and tears will
 be vain. Circumcise your hearts: no longer sow among
 thorns, and on land unploughed: but become new men
 in Christ, and your hearts will then be like fresh, beau-
 tiful, and rich land. 'Behold, the days come, saith
 the Lord, that I will punish the circumcised with the
 uncircumcised; Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the
 sons of Moab: for all these nations are uncircumcised,
 and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the
 heart'. Thus God only regards circumcision as a sign.
 But if a Scythian or Persian know God and his Christ,
 and keep the law of eternal justice, he has the good
 and useful circumcision; God is friendly to him, and
 rejoices in his offerings. Let me remind you of the
 words of the prophet Malachi: 'I have no pleasure in
 you, saith the Lord of hosts, neither will I accept an

' Jer. ix. 25, 26.

“ offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun
 “ even to the going down of the same my name shall be
 “ great among the Gentiles, &c.^s’ And of David: ‘ A
 “ people whom I have not known shall serve me. As
 “ soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me.’ Let all
 “ of us assembled nations glorify God; because he has
 “ visited us. Let us glorify him through the King of
 “ glory, through the Lord of powers. His favour is
 “ towards the Gentiles: our sacrifices are pleasanter to
 “ him than yours. What then is circumcision to me,
 “ who have a testimony from God? What is the use of
 “ that baptism to one who is baptized with the Holy
 “ Ghost? These reasons must, I think, persuade men of
 “ any understanding: for the matter is no preparation of
 “ mine, neither adorned by the art of man: the words
 “ are in the Songs of David, and in the Gospel of Isaiah;
 “ they are the prophecies of Zechariah, the writing of
 “ Moses. Do you acknowledge them, Trypho? They
 “ are deposited in your, let me rather say in our, Scrip-
 “ tures: for we believe in them, and obey them: ye at-
 “ tend to the letter, but the spirit escapes you. No
 “ longer therefore vent your bitter reproaches against us,
 “ because we observe not circumcision and the sabbath:
 “ by which rites foolish men act the part of sycophants
 “ towards Almighty God, who has indeed always taught
 “ all men the same just laws. Many have thought those
 “ commands unreasonable and unworthy of God, not
 “ having received grace to perceive that they were issued
 “ on account of your wickedness, to lead you to repent-
 “ ance. It is plain that God’s law is sweeter to us than
 “ honey or the honeycomb, because we suffer death ra-
 “ ther than deny it.

“ We always implore God, through Jesus Christ, to

• Mal. i. 10, 11.

• Psalm xviii. 43, 44. &c.

"guard us from those evil spirits whom we formerly
 "adored. Him we call upon, our Helper and Re-
 "deemer, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; and
 "at the sound of his name, the devils now tremble and
 "obey. Such power has the Father given him, and
 "hence we may gather what his appearance will be in his
 "glory, according to the description of the prophet Da-
 "niel: 'I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and
 "'the Ancient of days did sit, &c.' See Daniel vii. 9. to
 "the end."

IV.

"When I had ceased, *Trypho* said: These and similar
 "Scriptures oblige us to expect that glorious and great
 "One, who, as the Son of man, is to receive from
 "the Ancient of days an everlasting kingdom. But he
 "who is called your Christ was born in a state without
 "honour or reputation, and suffered the extreme curse
 "of the law, even crucifixion. If I had not shewn, I
 "said, from the Scriptures, that his appearance was
 "mean, and his generation obscure; that for his death
 "the rich should suffer death, and that by his stripes we
 "are healed; and that he was led like a lamb to the
 "slaughter: and if I had not explained his two advents,
 "one in which he was pierced by you, the other when
 "ye shall look on him whom ye have pierced, and your
 "tribes shall mourn: I should indeed have thought I had
 "spoken unintelligibly. But I adduce all my proofs
 "from the holy and prophetic Scriptures, hoping to find
 "some among you, through the grace which comes from
 "the Lord of hosts, reserved for eternal life. That the
 "point in question may be made clearer, I will now
 "bring forward some writings of blessed David, in which
 "ye will perceive, that he mentions the Lord Christ by
 "the divine Spirit of prophecy, and the Lord the Father

“ of all things bringing him upon earth, and placing him
 “ at his right hand, until he makes his enemies his foot-
 “ stool. Which came to pass from the time that our
 “ Lord Jesus Christ ascended into heaven, in the fulness
 “ of time, after his resurrection. Daniel also mentions
 “ him who shall speak blasphemous and great words
 “ against the Most High, until a time and times and the
 “ dividing of a time^u. This ye do not rightly interpret :
 “ for ye say that a time is one hundred years ; therefore
 “ the man of sin must reign at least three hundred and
 “ fifty years. These things I bring forward indirectly,
 “ that ye may perceive their application to yourselves, of
 “ whom it is said, ‘ The wisdom of their wise men shall
 “ perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall
 “ be hid^x.’ No longer therefore seduce others, but learn
 “ of us, whom the grace of Christ has made wise. These
 “ are the words of David : ‘ The Lord said unto my
 “ Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine
 “ enemies thy footstool, &c. The Lord hath sworn, and
 “ will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order
 “ of Melchizedek.’ Which words cannot apply, as ye
 “ say, to King Hezekiah : for ye do not assert that he
 “ was, or is, a priest. But they are spoken of our Jesus,
 “ as ye might perceive, if your ears were not stopped,
 “ and your hearts blinded. The Lord swears, on account
 “ of your incredulity, ‘ He is a priest for ever after the
 “ order of Melchizedek.’ Now Moses says, that Melchi-
 “ zedek was priest of the most high God, and he was
 “ priest to the uncircumcised, and also blessed Abraham
 “ in circumcision, who gave him tithes. Thus God ma-
 “ nifested that he would be an eternal highpriest, both to
 “ the circumcised and uncircumcised ; and would bless all

^u Dan. ix. 26.

^x Isaiah xxix. 14.

^y The whole 110th Psalm is here quoted.

" those who come to him, that is, who believe in him,
 " and ask his blessing. The last verse of this Psalm, ' He
 ' shall drink of the brook in the way : therefore shall he
 ' lift up the head,' shews his state of humility, and of ex-
 " altation. As a farther proof of your self-deception and
 " misinterpretation of Scripture, I will quote another
 " Psalm, composed by David under the inspiration of the
 " Holy Ghost, which ye refer to Solomon, but which
 " was really spoken of our Christ. This sentence, ' The
 ' law of the Lord is perfect ², ' means not, as ye expound
 " it, the Mosaic covenant : whereas God himself pro-
 " claims, that he would make ' a new law and a new co-
 ' venant with the house of Israel ^a. ' Again : ' Give thy
 ' judgments unto the king, O God ^b. ' This ye apply also
 " to Solomon : but the words of the Psalm explicitly de-
 " note Christ, the eternal King : for Christ is King, and
 " Priest, and God, and Lord, and Angel, and Man, and
 " chief Captain ; and a Stone, and born a Child, and be-
 " ing made first exposed to suffering, reascended afterwards
 " into heaven, and shall come again with glory, having
 " obtained an eternal kingdom. I can shew that all this
 " is prophesied of him in the holy Scriptures ^c. I know
 " that Solomon was a king, great and glorious, and that
 " by him the temple at Jerusalem was built : but the
 " Psalm is not applicable to him. For all kings did not
 " worship him, nor did he reign to the ends of the earth,
 " nor did his enemies bow down before him, and lick the
 " dust. Let me remind you of his worshipping idols, by
 " means of a Sidonian woman, which is mentioned in the
 " books of Kings ; a thing which they who acknowledge
 " the Creator of all things through the crucified Jesus
 " cannot do, but they rather endure torture, and punish-
 " ment, and death."

² Psalm xix. 7.

^a Jer. xxxi. 31.

^b Psalm lxxii. 1.

^c The whole of the 72d Psalm is here quoted.

V.

Trypho. "But I hear that many professors of Christianity eat things offered to idols, and say there is no harm in so doing." "I understand there are such persons," I replied, "who acknowledge indeed Jesus to be Lord and Christ, but instead of his doctrines, they teach those of the spirit of error. We are followers of the true and pure discipline of Christ Jesus, and are more faithful and firm in the hope revealed from him. He himself said: 'Many shall come in my name, clad in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves;' and 'There shall be heresies and schisms;' and 'Beware of false prophets;' and 'Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise, and shall seduce many of the faithful.' Accordingly there are and have been many, coming in the name of Jesus, who, by word and deed, have taught atheism and blasphemy; and we denominated them after the authors of such doctrines. We have no communion with these ungodly, irreligious, and unjust men, who, instead of worshipping (σέβειν) Jesus, confess him only in name: as idols are inscribed with the name of God by the workers of wickedness among the Heathen. Thus some of them are called Marcionites; others take the names of Valentinian, Basilides, and Saturninus, from the chiefs of their different opinions, just as the sects of philosophy receive their titles. From these things we know that Jesus was a true prophet, and from others which he foretold would happen to those who believe and confess him to be Christ. Our sufferings and persecutions from our countrymen he explicitly foretold: nor is he reprehensible in word or deed. Wherefore we pray for you, and for all others, our enemies; that ye may repent and think with us, and no longer blaspheme him, who by his works, by the virtues now existing through his

“ name, by the precepts of his doctrine, and by the prophecies accomplished in him, is altogether without spot and blameless, Christ Jesus. By faith in him save yourselves at his next coming in glory, that ye may not be condemned to fire by him.”

VI.

Trypho. Be it so, that Christ came, according to prophecy, liable to suffering, that he was called the Stone, and that he shall come again in glory, the Judge of all, an everlasting King and Priest: still how do you prove that this is he?

“ I am coming in good time to that proof. At present permit me to adduce some passages from the prophets, to shew that Christ is God and Lord of power, and is symbolically called Jacob^d by the Holy Spirit. Your interpreters are, as God declares, without understanding, who refer these sayings, not to Christ, but to Solomon. Thus the twenty-fourth Psalm is supposed to relate wholly to the carrying the tabernacle of testimony into the temple built by Solomon: but Solomon was neither Lord of power, nor King of glory. In the forty-seventh Psalm the passage, ‘ God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of the trumpet, &c.’ can only relate to Christ. In the ninety-ninth Psalm, he whom ye refuse for your King is called King and Lord of Samuel, and Aaron and Moses and of all.”

VII.

Trypho. “ We should do better to attend to our Rabbis, and not to have any intercourse with you: for you speak blasphemies, in attempting to persuade us

^d A supplanter. Gen. xxv. 26. xxvii. 36. “ He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God.” Hosea xii. 3.

“ that this crucified person was with Moses and Aaron,
 “ and talked with them in the cloudy pillar; then that
 “ he became man, was crucified, and ascended into hea-
 “ ven, and that he will come again upon earth, and that
 “ he is to be adored (προσκυνητον).”

“ I answered: I know that according to the word of
 “ God, the great wisdom of the Creator of all is hid
 “ from you: wherefore, out of feeling for your condition,
 “ I labour to make you understand these apparent para-
 “ doxes; at least that I may be unpunished in the day of
 “ judgment. Ye will hear still more incredible things;
 “ but be not disturbed, rather listen with more alacrity,
 “ and cast aside the traditions of your teachers, who are
 “ more attentive to their own doctrines, than to the pre-
 “ cepts of the holy prophetic Spirit. The forty-fifth
 “ Psalm is also a prophecy of Christ. It is no wonder
 “ you hate us, who understand these prophecies, and who
 “ constantly reprove the hardness of your hearts. As God
 “ restrained his anger in the days of Elias, on account of
 “ the seven thousand who had not bowed their knees to
 “ Baal, so is he now slow to judgment, because many are
 “ daily converted to Christ, and leave the way of error,
 “ and receive a diversity of gifts through the illumination
 “ of Christ; one the spirit of understanding, another of
 “ counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another
 “ of foreknowledge, another of teaching, another of the
 “ fear of God.”

Trypho. “ You are mad.”

Justin. “ I am neither mad nor beside myself. After
 “ Christ’s ascension to heaven it was prophesied, that he
 “ should lead us away captive from error, and give us
 “ gifts: and we shew, that, although ye are wise in your
 “ own conceits, yet we alone, being instructed in all

• Psalm lxviii. 18.

“ truth, honour God in works, in knowledge, and in
 “ heart. Perhaps also ye forbear to confess Christ, and
 “ the works that are done in his name, on account of the
 “ persecution of persons in power, who being instigated
 “ by the serpent, that wicked and seductive spirit, cease
 “ not to put to death and to persecute those who confess
 “ Christ, until he shall come again, and distribute to
 “ every man his reward.”

VIII.

Trypho. “ Now then prove to us that he, who you
 “ say was crucified and ascended into heaven, is the
 “ Christ of God. For you have sufficiently shewn from
 “ Scripture, that Christ was foretold as obnoxious to suf-
 “ fering, (*παθητος*,) that he will come again in glory, and
 “ that he will receive an everlasting dominion over all
 “ nations, all kingdoms being subdued to him.”

Justin. “ This has been already proved to those who
 “ have ears to hear, according to your own confession.
 “ I will bring forward more proofs in due time: but let
 “ me now continue the thread of my argument. The
 “ paschal lamb was a type of Christ, with whose blood
 “ the faithful sprinkle his temples, that is to say them-
 “ selves. But the paschal lamb was a temporary institu-
 “ tion, for it was only to be offered in the place where
 “ the Lord’s name was called upon, and God knew that
 “ the time would come when Jerusalem should be deli-
 “ vered into the hands of your enemies. The two goats
 “ of the Levitical law^f, the scape-goat, and the other of-
 “ fered in sacrifice during a fast, are types of the two ad-
 “ vents of Christ. He became an offering for all who
 “ wish to repent of their sins, and to fast, according to
 “ the fast prescribed by Isaiah, as I have already stated.

^f Lev. xvi. 5.

“ Ye know that the offering of the goats is permitted
 “ only in Jerufalem. The offering of fine flour for the le-
 “ prous prefigured the bread at the eucharift, which Jefus
 “ Chrift our Lord commanded to be done, as a token of
 “ our gratitude to God, becaufe he created the world and
 “ all that it contains for man’s ufe, and becaufe he has
 “ delivered us from the ftate of fin and evil in which we
 “ were, and has utterly deftroyed its principality and
 “ power, by him who became fubject to fuffering through
 “ his will. I have already quoted the words of Malachi,
 “ one of the twelve prophets, on the fubject of your
 “ former facrifices ; ‘ I have no pleafure in you, faith the
 “ Lord of hofts, neither will I accept an offering at your
 “ hand. For from the rifing of the fun even unto the go-
 “ ing down of the fame my name fhall be great among
 “ the Gentiles ; and in every place incenfe fhall be offered
 “ unto my name, and a pure offering : for my name fhall
 “ be great among the heathen, faith the Lord of hofts.
 “ But ye have profaned it.”

“ As circumcifion originated with Abraham, and the
 “ fabbath, the facrifices, the offerings, and the feftivals with
 “ Moses, and were all ordained on account of the hardnefs
 “ of your hearts : fo muft they have their accomplifhment,
 “ according to the will of the Father, in him, who was
 “ born of a Virgin of the feed of Abraham, and of David,
 “ of the tribe of Judah, the Son of God Chrift Jefus. He
 “ came, according to the prophets, to preach to the
 “ whole world an everlafting law, and a new covenant.
 “ And we who approach to God through him, have re-
 “ ceived not a circumcifion of the flefh, but a fpiritual
 “ circumcifion, which Enoch and the others obferved.
 “ This we receive, being finners, through baptifm, by the
 “ mercy of God : and all may fo receive it.

§ Mal. i. 10, 11, 12. Some remarks concerning the typical rites of
 the Jews are here omitted.

IX.

"The mystery of Christ's birth now demands our
 "consideration. Isaiah declares that it is inexpressible:
 "Who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off
 "out of the land of the living: for the transgression of
 "my people was he stricken^b.' Thus is he spoken of by
 "the prophetic Spirit, who came into the world to die,
 "that by his stripes we might be healed. When Ahaz,
 "being at liberty to choose a sign, refused it, saying, 'I
 "will not tempt the Lord;' God himself gave him this
 "sign, 'Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, &c.ⁱ' But ex-
 "cept Christ, none of the seed of Abraham was born, or
 "said to be born, of a Virgin. Ye and your Rabbis
 "dare indeed to say there is no such prophecy in Isaiah,
 "and explain the words to relate to king Hezekiah: and
 "I will therefore enter into a farther commentary. If I
 "persuade you, my conscience will be clear: if ye re-
 "main hard-hearted, and vainly suppose that ye will re-
 "ceive the rewards promised through the Messiah, be-
 "cause ye are the seed of Abraham, ye will then be self-
 "deceivers. None of the seed of Abraham can receive
 "them, unless their faith be equal to that of Abraham,
 "and they have a knowledge of mysteries: upon them
 "the commands to observe piety and justice were obliga-
 "tory, for God says by Ezekiel, 'Noah, Daniel, and
 "Job should not deliver their sons and their daughters;
 "they should only deliver themselves^k:' and by Isaiah,
 "The Lord God said, They shall go forth, and look at
 "the carcases of the men who have transgressed against
 "me; their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be
 "quenched^l.' Wherefore cast from you these vain hopes,
 "and hasten to know the way of the remission of sins,

^b Isaiah liii. 8.ⁱ Isaiah vii. 14.^k Ezek. xiv. 14.^l Isaiah lxvi. 24.

“ and to have confidence in the inheritance of promised
“ blessings. There is no other way but to confess Christ,
“ to be baptized for the remission of sins, according to
“ Isaiah’s words, and to live without sin.”

X.

Trypho. “ Permit me to interrupt you by one question.”

Justin. “ As you please.”

Trypho. “ They who live according to the law of Moses, will they live with Enoch, Noah, and Job in the resurrection, or not?”

Justin. “ I quoted Ezekiel to prove that those three
“ righteous men would deliver themselves only, not their
“ sons and daughters: each person will be saved in his
“ own righteousness, and so they who observe the law of
“ Moses. For in that law the things which are naturally
“ excellent, and pious, and just, are prescribed: and also
“ other things, which were commanded on account of
“ the hardness of your hearts. And they who do the
“ things which are entirely and naturally and everlastingly
“ good, please God: and through this Christ, in the resurrection, as their forefathers Noah, and Enoch, and
“ Job, and other just men were saved, so shall they be
“ saved, together with all who acknowledge Christ the
“ Son of God, who was before the morning-star and the
“ moon, and endured to be made flesh of that Virgin
“ of the seed of David, that through this dispensation,
“ the serpent wicked from the beginning and his angels
“ might be destroyed, and the power of death set at
“ nought, ceasing altogether at the second coming of
“ Christ, and existing no more with respect to those who
“ believe in Christ and live according to his will. Then
“ some shall be dismissed to the just sentence of everlasting
“ punishment by fire: and others shall enter into a state

"free from suffering, and corruption, and grief, and death."

Trypho. "If there be among the observers of the Mo-
saic law, who wish now to have life, believing also in
the crucified Jesus, confessing that he is the Christ of
God, and that to him is given absolute judgment over
all, and that his kingdom is eternal: can they also be
saved?"

Justin. "Let us consider, is it possible now to observe
all things which Moses commanded?" *Trypho.* "No:
for the paschal lamb, the goats, and other offerings
cannot be sacrificed, as you have said, any where but
in the holy land?" *Justin.* "Tell me then some of
those which it is still possible to observe^m." He an-
swered, "The sabbaths, and circumcision, and moons,
and ablutions." *Justin.* "Abraham and Isaac and Ja-
cob and Noah and Job and the patriarchs before them,
and Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, observed none
of these: you think that they are saved?" *Trypho.*
"Surely: Abraham and his posterity were circumcised."
Justin. "Yes, but the rite began with him. And all the
ceremonies given by Moses were appointed on account
of the hardness of heart of the Jews; in order that by
many institutions in every action ye might have God
always before your eyes, and not be seduced into in-
justice and impiety. Your scarlet clothes and your
phylacteries were for the same purpose: still the Jews
swerved from the worship of God, and all these institu-
tions preserved them not from idolatry. On the con-
trary, rather than continue to sacrifice to idols, we
Christians endure extreme torments, and rejoice in
death: believing that God by his Christ will raise us
up to incorruption and immortality; and we know

^m Instead of *τινα οὐ δύναται εἶναι φυλάσσειν*, I read *τινα οὐ δύναται*.

“ that those things which were appointed to you on account of the hardness of your hearts, do not really constitute justice and religion.”

XI.

Trypho. “ What if any, besides having sincere faith in Christ, and paying obedience to him, should farther wish to keep the Mosaic ritual: will he be saved?

Justin. “ Indeed. I think so: provided he does not attempt to persuade others, the Gentiles particularly, to be of that opinion, telling them, as you have just told me, that they cannot be saved without the Mosaic rites.” *Trypho.* “ You say you think such a person will be saved. Are there then who think otherwise?”

Justin. “ Yes, and who would not dare to have any communion with such persons: but I assent not to their opinion. If any, of weak understanding, wish to observe what Moses has delivered, as far as they can in the present state of things, besides their hope in this Christ, and besides the works of justice and piety which are eternal and obligatory by the law of nature; and prefer consorting with faithful Christians, without, as I have said, pressing upon them circumcision, and the sabbatical and other rites: for my part I think they are to be received with open arms, in entire fellowship, as brethren of our own flesh and blood. Upon the same principles, if any of your people, Trypho, converts to Christ, force the Gentile Christians to observe the law of Moses, I am not for receiving them: but still think those Gentile Christians, who are persuaded to follow the law of Moses, may be saved. They who have been converted to Christ, and relapse into the legal institution, denying Christ, cannot without repentance be saved: nor they of the seed of Abraham, who live according to the law without faith in Christ; and especially

" the persecutors of Christ in the synagogues. Such indeed is the goodness and loving-kindness of God, such the immensity of his mercy, that, as he says by Ezekiel, he will receive him who repents and turns from his wickedness, as just and blameless: but him who is an apostate from the true worship of God, and the ways of righteousness, he considers a sinner and an infidel. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ has said: ' In whatsoever (things or actions or ways) I shall find you, in them will I also judge you.'

XII.

Trypho. " Well, we have heard your sentiments on this point. Resume, if you please, the thread of your discourse. You speak a paradox, incapable I think of demonstration: indeed to say, as you do, that this Christ is God preexistent before the worlds, (*προυπαρχεν Θεον οντα προ αιωνων τουτον Χριστον,*) that he was born and endured to become man, though not of man, this appears to me rather nonsense, than a paradox."

Justin. " I know that this doctrine appears paradoxical, particularly to the Jews, who have not been willing either to know or to do the will of God, but obey the precepts of their teachers, as God himself declares. However^a this truth will not perish, that this is the Christ of God, although I may not be able to demon-

^a From this celebrated passage Dr. Priestley and other writers have inferred, that Justin Martyr and the primitive Church in general held communion with Unitarians; and consequently did not think the doctrine of the Godhead of Jesus Christ an article of faith essential to salvation. Bishop Bull's observations on this point, *Judicium Eccles. Catholicæ* p. 69, 70, &c. are worthy of all attention. He with reason remarks, that Justin's argument is here addressed to *the man*, to the Jew; whom he wants to convince in the first place, that the expected Messiah has come in the person of Jesus Christ. The character of the Messiah, whether or not he be really God, he for the present omits to consider.

“strate that the Son of the Creator of the universe had
 “preexistence, and was God, (*προυπηρχεν υἱος του ποιητου*
 “*των όλων Θεος αν,*) and became incarnate of a Virgin: at
 “all events it has been already proved that, whatever be
 “the character of the Messiah, the anointed of God, this
 “is he. Though I should not shew that he had preexist-
 “ence, and endured to be born man of like passions with
 “us, in the flesh, according to the will of the Father, it
 “is in justice only my error: but it will not be fair to
 “deny that this is Christ, although it should appear that
 “he was born a man of men, and was by election made
 “Christ. For there are some, my friends, of our^o race,
 “who confess that this is the Christ, but make him out
 “to be a man of men. With them I do not agree. Were
 “they many in number, I should ascribe little weight to
 “their speeches; for we are commanded by Christ him-
 “self to believe, not in human doctrines and traditions,
 “but in the declarations of the prophets, and in his pre-
 “cepts.”

XIII.

Trypho. “They who say that he was born a man,
 “and was anointed by election, and made the Christ,

* Bishop Bull reads *ὑμῶν, your*. See *Judicium Eccles. Cath.* p. 73.
 In either case the words refer to the Nazarenes or to the Ebionites.
 The Nazarenes were Jewish converts to Christianity, who retained the
 Mosaic Law: and the term Nazarene conveyed to the Jews the same
 signification as Christian to the Greeks. The Nazarenes, after the ruin
 of Jerusalem, retired to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan.
 They are not convicted of heresy. The Ebionites (in Hebrew “poor”)
 seem to have received their name from their abject condition. They
 were perhaps a sect or a remnant of the Nazarenes: but they denied
 the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and thought Judaism necessary to sal-
 vation. See Mosheim *De Rebus ante Constant.* p. 328. &c. and Bishop
 Bull’s animated strictures; *Judic. Eccles. Catholic.* p. 20, 21, &c. Bi-
 shop Horley has ably defended the distinction between Nazarenes and
 Ebionites, which the Unitarians are so fond of obliterating. See *Tracts*
in Controversy with Dr. Priestley, p. 393. Ed. 1812.

† I have ventured to offer a new construction of this passage.

“ appear to me to deserve more credit than those of your
 “ persuasion. We all think that the Messiah will be born
 “ a man of men, and that Elias will come to anoint him.
 “ If therefore this be Christ, he must be known to be a
 “ man of men : but since Elias is not come, I think this
 “ is not the Christ.”

Justin. “ Does not the word by Malachi say, that Elias
 “ must first come, before that great and terrible day of
 “ the Lord ?” *Trypho.* “ Certainly.” *Justin.* “ Then if
 “ we must acknowledge that the prophets speak of two
 “ advents of Christ, one in a suffering, abject, and inglori-
 “ ous condition, and the other when he shall come in
 “ glory to judge the world, (as I have before shewn,) do
 “ not these words of Malachi relate to his second com-
 “ ing ?” *Trypho.* “ Assuredly.” *Justin.* “ So our Lord
 “ prophesied, when he said, Elias must first come : and
 “ this we know will take place. And there was a fore-
 “ runner of his first coming, the Spirit of God which was
 “ in Elias, in John the last prophet of your race. At the
 “ river Jordan he cried, ‘ There cometh after me a greater
 “ than I, &c.’ Him your king Herod shut up in prison,
 “ and afterwards had his head brought to him in a
 “ charger, at the instance of his brother’s wife, whose
 “ daughter had pleased him by her dancing. Our Christ
 “ therefore said, that Elias was already come : and it is
 “ written, that his Disciples understood him to mean
 “ John the Baptist.”

Trypho. “ I know not how to believe what you say,
 “ that the same divine prophetic Spirit, which was in
 “ Elias, was also in John the Baptist.” *Justin.* “ Do you
 “ not think the same thing happened in the case of Jo-
 “ shua the son of Nun, when Moses was commanded to
 “ lay hands on him ?” *Trypho.* “ Yes.” *Justin.* “ Well
 “ then, as God took of the Spirit that was upon Moses,
 “ while he lived, and gave to Joshua, so could he bring it

“ to pass that the Spirit of Elias should come upon John the Baptist.”

Trypho. “ You seem, from practice, to be ready in answers. First tell me then how you prove there is another God, besides the Creator : and then you can shew that he endured to be born of a Virgin.”

XIV.

Justin. “ With your leave I will first quote Isaiah’s prophecy concerning John the Baptist, who was also a prophet, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ.” [The fortieth chapter of Isaiah is here quoted : ‘ Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, &c.’] *Trypho.* “ The words of this prophecy are of dubious import.” *Justin.* “ If your prophets had not ceased since the time of John the Baptist, you might say so. But if John came preaching repentance, and Christ superseded his ministry, and proclaimed the Gospel, and that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, and that he must suffer many things of the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again the third day, and come again to Jerusalem, and there eat and drink with his Disciples, and that in the interval before his coming many false priests and false prophets should arise : and if all these things have come to pass : what room is there for doubt, since ye have the evidence of facts ? Christ himself explains them : ‘ The law and the prophets were until John the Baptist : from which time the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.’ The patriarch Jacob prophesied the two advents of Christ : and that the Gentiles who believed in him,

⁹ Luke xvi. 16. Matt. xi. 12—15.

^r Gen. xlix. 8—12.

" when obnoxious to suffering, should wait for his coming
 " in glory. You cannot deny, with any pretence, that a
 " prophet and a ruler were not wanting to your nation,
 " until Jesus Christ was born and suffered. For Herod
 " the Ascalonite was of your nation, and under him ye
 " were able to make offerings, and observe all the law of
 " Moses : and your prophets continued in succession until
 " John ; even under the Babylonish captivity, though
 " your country was laid waste, and your sacred vessels
 " carried away, still you wanted not a prophet of your
 " own, the lord and leader and ruler of your people : but
 " since the manifestation and death of Jesus our Christ,
 " there neither has been, nor is, a prophet among you.
 " Ye have ceased to be under a king of your own :
 " moreover your land is left unto you desolate, and like a
 " lodge in a garden of cucumbers. The words of Jacob,
 " ' Unto him shall the gathering of the people be,' figura-
 " tively denote his second coming, and the conversion of
 " the Gentiles, as ye may at last perhaps understand.
 " And the words, ' binding his foal unto the vine, and his
 " ' ass's colt unto the choice vine,' predict both the works
 " done by him at his first advent, and also that the Gentiles
 " should believe in him : for they were as an untamed colt,
 " until Christ sent forth his Disciples among them ; and
 " they submitted to the yoke of his word, and their backs
 " to bear, on account of the recompence of reward promif-
 " ed by him. Christ himself at Bethphage, when he was
 " about to enter Jerusalem, bade his Disciples bring him
 " an ass and her colt, and sat thereon, according to the
 " prophecy*. Yet though these Scriptures have been
 " manifestly fulfilled, your hearts remain hard. And the
 " two asses in Jacob's prophecy signify your nation ac-
 " customed to the law, and the Gentiles unused to disci-

* Zech. ix. 9.

“ pline. Zechariah prophesies thus; ‘Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered’:’ and it was fulfilled; for after Christ’s crucifixion, his followers were scattered, until he rose from the dead, and proved to them that it was foretold he must suffer. And they were convinced, and went out into all the world, teaching these things. We are firm in his faith and discipline, for we are persuaded by the prophets, and by those who through the world have believed in him who was crucified, and have become pious. In the prophecy of Jacob, ‘He washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes,’ the Holy Spirit denotes those who shall be washed by his blood, and receive remission of sins. The expression, ‘blood of the grapes,’ means that the efficacy of Christ’s blood is not any thing human, but by the power of God. This prophecy shews that Christ is not a mere man, born after the common manner of men.”

XV.

Trypho. “We shall bear in mind what you say on this point: now resume your proof that the Holy Spirit has declared another God besides the Creator. Remember that the Gentiles were suffered to worship the sun and the moon, and that the prophets often say, ‘Thy God is God of gods, and Lord of lords^u,’ adding the epithets, ‘great, strong, terrible^x.’ They were not in reality gods, but we are taught to believe that the true God, the Creator of all things, is only Lord of those who are called gods and lords. Thus the Holy Ghost says by holy David; ‘The gods of the nations are images of gods, not gods^y:’ and a curse is added upon those who make and those who worship them.”

^u Zech. xiii. 7.

^x Deut. x. 17.

^y Ps. l. 1.

^z Ps. cxv. 4.

Justin. "I mean not to adduce proofs of this kind, but such as cannot be controverted. Though read daily to you, they will seem new: and hence ye may understand, that on account of your iniquity God has hidden from you the wisdom of his word: though a very small remnant indeed is left, as *Isaiah* says, that your nation may not be like Sodom and Gomorrah. Attend therefore to my evidences from Scripture, which require not explanation, but only to be heard. *Moses* indicates, that God was seen by Abraham with the two angels sent to the judgment of Sodom by the other (God), who is always in heaven, neither is seen by any, nor converses with any, the Creator and Father of the universe." Trypho and his friends express themselves not convinced by this evidence. *Justin.* "Do you not think that God was seen by Abraham under the oak of Mamre, as the word says?" *Trypho.* "Yes." *Justin.* "And he was one of the three, whom the prophetic Spirit mentions?" *Trypho.* "No: God appeared to him first; and then the three angels, who are called men." *Justin.* "Yet one of the three said to Abraham, 'I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son:' and afterwards 'it is written, 'God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman'. Was it not therefore God who returned under the oak of Mamre, and spake again to Abraham?" *Trypho.* "You have not proved that this is another God besides the Creator. Though I confess I was not correct in saying that the three who were in the tent with Abraham, were merely angels." *Justin.* "You allow at least that you can comprehend how God, who was

¹ Gen. xviii. 1, 2.

² Gen. xxi. 12.

"before the creation of the world, appeared on earth in
 "the form of a man. I shall now attempt to persuade
 "you from Scripture, that the same who appeared to
 "Abraham, and Jacob, and Moses, is called God, and
 "differs from the Creator in number, but not in will.
 "The sun was risen upon the earth, when Lot entered
 "into Zoar. Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and
 "Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of
 "heaven." Here the fourth of Trypho's friends said,
 "We must then allow that this was another Lord God,
 "besides the one who appeared to Abraham." *Justin*.
 "David says the same thing: 'The Lord said unto my
 "Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, &c.^b' and again: 'Thy
 "throne, O God, is for ever and ever; thou hast loved truth
 "and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath
 "anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows^c."
 (The Author proceeds to quote at large the 18th and
 19th chapters of Genesis, for the purpose of proving
 that, not one of the two angels who descended upon
 Sodom, but he who appeared with them to Abraham,
 and is called God, was both Lord and God, and con-
 tinues thus :) "When he came to Sodom, he, and not the
 "two angels, spoke, as the Scripture shews, to Lot; and
 "he is the Lord who brought destruction from the Lord
 "in heaven, the Creator of all, upon Sodom and Gomor-
 "rah." Trypho suggests a difficulty concerning the food
 eaten by the three who appeared to Abraham. Justin
 says, "The expressions are to be understood in a figurative
 "sense, as when we say, Fire devours."

XVI.

Trypho. "This interpretation helps to remove the
 "difficulty. Now you have to explain how this God,

^a Gen. xix. 23, 24.^b Psalm cx. 1, 2.^c Psalm xlv. 6, 7.

“ who was seen by Abraham, and who is minister of God
 “ the Creator, was born of a virgin, and made man, liable
 “ to human passions.” *Justin.* “ I possess no eloquence or
 “ art of words: I can only open to you the Scriptures,
 “ according to the grace which God gives me.” *Trypho.*
 “ Your expressions of modesty are ironical.” *Justin.* “ I
 “ cannot control your thoughts. I say, Moses has again
 “ written that he who is called God, and Angel, and
 “ Lord, was seen by the Patriarchs: and thus ye may be
 “ confirmed in that opinion, which ye have already ex-
 “ pressed, that he is the minister of the Creator. ‘ The
 “ angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob:
 “ And I said, Here am I. And he said, I am the God of
 “ Bethel, &c.’ Again: ‘ Jacob was left alone; and there
 “ wrestled a man (an angel) with him until daybreak:
 “ and he said, Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but
 “ Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with God, &c.
 “ And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I
 “ have seen God face to face.’ Again: ‘ God appeared
 “ unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram:
 “ and Jacob called the name of the place where God
 “ spake with him, Bethel.^d He is called God, and is and
 “ will be God. (Θεος καλεῖται, και Θεος ἐστὶ, και ἐσται.)

“ They all nodded assent: and I (*Justin*) added; Let
 “ me remind you that this Angel and God and Lord, who
 “ was seen by Abraham in the form of a man, and wrestled
 “ with Jacob in the form of a man, appeared also to Jacob,
 “ when he fled from his brother Esau^e. This very Angel,
 “ and God, and Lord, and man, who appeared to Abra-
 “ ham and Jacob, spoke to Moses from the burning bush.
 “ For he says, ‘ The Lord God of your fathers appeared
 “ to me, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God
 “ of Jacob^h.’

^d Gen. xxxi. 11, 13.

^e Gen. xxviii. 10, 20.

^e xxxii. 24, 28, 30.

^h Exod. iii. 16.

^f xxxv. 9, 15.

XVII.

Trypho. "We think that an angel appeared to Moses in the bush, while God spake to him."

Justin. "Even if it were so, that both an angel and God were in the vision of Moses, yet no one, of the slenderest understanding, would venture to say that the Author and Father of the universe left his heavenly abode, to shew himself in a corner of the earth. He alone, who is called an angel and is God, appeared and conversed with Moses: 'The angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush¹.' As the word calls him who appeared to Jacob in a dream an angel, who says, I am God, who was seen by thee, when thou fleddest from thy brother Esau: and as the Lord is said to have brought destruction from the Lord in heaven upon Sodom; so the angel of the Lord is said to have appeared to Moses, and is afterwards called Lord and God. Scripture shews, that before all creation God generated from himself a rational virtue, (*δυναμιν λογικην*), which by the holy Spirit is called the glory of God, sometimes the Son, sometimes Wisdom, sometimes an Angel, sometimes God, sometimes Lord, sometimes the Word; sometimes he calls himself the Chief Captain, appearing in the form of a man to Joshua the son of Nun^k. Thus one fire, without diminution of its substance, kindles another^l. God himself, the Son, the Word, the Wisdom, Virtue, and Glory of

¹ Exod. iii. 2, 3, 4.

^k Josh. v. 14. "As captain of the Host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and worshipped."

^l "When Justin says that fire propagates the same fire, he must mean that the Son of God, generated by God, is also very God." Bulli Defens. Fid. Nic. c. iv. sect. 3.

“ the Father, speaks by Solomon, ‘ The Lord possessed me
 “ in the beginning of his way, before his works of old,
 “ &c m.’ The word of God by Moses denotes him to be
 “ God, saying, ‘ Let us make God after our image n.’
 “ Do not say, after your Rabbis, that God was here
 “ speaking to himself, or to the elements, of which man
 “ was formed: for afterwards God says—‘ Behold the
 “ man is become as one of us, to discern good and evil n.’
 “ They were therefore evidently two at least in number;
 “ nor could the words be spoken, according to some here-
 “ tics among you, of angels. But in reality the very off-
 “ spring of the Father, was before all creation with the
 “ Father, and the Father conversed with him.”

XVIII.

Trypho. My friend, you have argued this point
 “ powerfully. It now remains for you to shew that the
 “ same endured, according to the will of the Father, to be
 “ born a man of a virgin, and to be crucified, and to die:
 “ and that he afterwards rose again from the dead, and
 “ ascended into heaven.”

Justin. “ I think I have already proved these truths
 “ from Scripture^o, particularly from the 45th Psalm;
 “ wherein there is a testimony from the Creator himself,
 “ that he is to be adored as God and Christ, (προσκυνητός
 “ εἰς καὶ Θεός καὶ Χριστός :) and those who believe in him
 “ with one soul, in one assembly, and one church, form his
 “ church, called by his name, which is as the daughter of

^m Prov. viii. 22. to the end.

ⁿ Gen. i. 26. iii. 22. Almost all the Fathers have given the same interpretation to this passage. See the notes upon Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 37. by Feuardentius and Grabe. “ The Lord was content to suffer for our
 “ souls, although he be the Lord of the whole earth; to whom God said
 “ before the beginning of the world, ‘ Let us make man after our own
 “ image.” Cath. Epistle of Barnabas, sect. 5.

^a Isai. liii. 8, Psalm cx. 3, 4.

“ God, ‘ Hear, O daughter, and consider: forget also
 ‘ thine own people and thy father’s house, (the customs of
 ‘ your ancestors :) so shall the king have pleasure in thy
 ‘ beauty.”

XIX.

Trypho. “ Well then, be this Lord and Christ and
 “ God to you Gentiles, and call yourselves Christians
 “ after his name. But we, being worshippers of the God
 “ who made him also, need neither to confess nor to adore
 “ him.”

Justin. “ Ye are eager, not to obtain knowledge, but
 “ for contention. I fear the judgment of God, and it is
 “ not for me to determine, whether some of your nation
 “ may not be saved through the grace of the Lord of
 “ hosts. However perverse the controversy may be on
 “ your part, I will not cease my endeavours to answer
 “ your objections; and I hold myself in readiness to do
 “ the same towards all persons of all countries. They of
 “ your race who are saved, are saved by him, (by Christ,)
 “ as ye might have known, if ye had attended to the pas-
 “ sages of Scripture already adduced by me.” (Justin here
 repeats his quotations from Psalm xcix. 1—7. the 72d
 Psalm, and Psalm xix. 1—6.)

Trypho. “ Though somewhat disconcerted by so many
 “ passages of Scripture, I know not what to say to the
 “ words of Isaiah, ‘ I am the Lord God: that is my
 “ name: and my glory will I not give to another?’”

Justin. “ If you consider the preceding context, you
 “ will find that God affirms he will give glory to him
 “ whom he appointed a light to the Gentiles. I then
 “ quoted the passage from Isaiah, ‘ Behold, a virgin shall
 ‘ conceive, and bear a son, &c &c.’ and insisted that, except

p Isai. xlii. 8.

q Isai. vii. 10, 18.

"this our Christ, it is plain none of the seed of Abraham was born, or said to be born, of a virgin."

Trypho. "The true reading is, not 'a virgin,' but 'a young woman shall conceive;' and moreover the whole prophecy relates to Hezekiah. In the Grecian fables, Perseus is said to have been the son of Jupiter born of a virgin, Danae. You ought to blush to relate the same thing, and should rather say that Jesus was a man born of men; and (if you can shew from Scripture that he was Christ) that because he lived a perfect life according to the Law, he was thought worthy to be elected to be the Messiah. You have acknowledged that he was circumcised, and that he observed the other legal ordinances of Moses."

Justin. "I have acknowledged, and do acknowledge it. But he did not observe these things, in order that he might be justified by them, but that he might completely fulfil the dispensation, committed to him by his Father, the Creator and Lord and God of all. For this cause he endured the death upon the cross, and to become man, and to suffer those things which he did suffer from your nation. Since you depart from your former confessions, I must again ask you, have the Patriarchs, who received not the law of Moses, their inheritance among the blessed or not?"

Trypho. "They have."

Justin. "Again, did God command your fathers to offer oblations, and victims, because he wanted them, or on account of the hardness of their hearts, and their inclination to idolatry?" *Trypho.* "Scripture obliges me to concede this also."

Justin. "And God promised a new covenant, besides that in Horeb, unaccompanied with fear and trembling, thunders and lightnings: thus shewing, that God has ordained some precepts and work to be eternal, and

“suited to all mankind: and some things he appointed,
“as he proclaims by the Prophets, on account of the
“hardness of your hearts?”

XX.

Trypho. “All this must be acknowledged by those who
“are lovers of truth, rather than of contention. Still you
“attempt to prove a thing incredible, and scarcely possi-
“ble, that God endured to be born and become man.”

Justin. “Had I undertaken to prove this by human
“doctrines and arguments, you ought not to bear with
“me. But after adducing so many passages from Scrip-
“ture, over and over again, to the same point, I still find
“your hearts closed to the knowledge of the will of God,
“I shall not be injured, but, retaining my own opinions,
“shall take my leave.”

Trypho. You have acquired this knowledge after much
“trouble and labour: and it behoves us, after sifting and
“examining every thing to the utmost, to assent to Scrip-
“ture.”

Justin. “I am far from desiring you not to examine the
“matter in every shape. But I certainly wish you not to
“retract what you have already granted. The words,
“Who shall declare his generation?’ do they not signify
“that the person spoken of is not of human race?”

Trypho. “Does not the word say to David, that from
“his loins God will take to himself a Son, and will give
“him a kingdom, and place him on the throne of his
“glory?”

Justin. “That prophecy is explained by another, which
“is also addressed to the house of David, viz. ‘Behold, a
“virgin shall conceive.’ Believe not your teachers, who
“say that the translation made by your seventy-two elders,

¹ Psalm cxxxii. 11. The Seventy translate thus: *ἐκ καρπού τῆς παρθένου*

ἐκ τούτου.

" for Ptolemy King of Egypt, is not in some places cor-
 " rect. Whatever in holy writ refutes their own foolish
 " and arrogant sentiments, they venture to say is not
 " genuine, or they distort its meaning. Thus they affirm
 " that the passage in question relates to Hezekiah. Those
 " Scriptures which manifestly describe Christ as obnoxious
 " to suffering, yet as adorable and God, which I have be-
 " fore quoted, those they are forced to acknowledge
 " refer to Christ: but they have the effrontery to say, this
 " is not the Christ; and confess that he is to come, and is
 " to suffer, and is to reign, and is to be God adorable.
 " That the Devil has sometimes counterfeited the truth
 " among the Gentiles (as he formerly effected his pur-
 " poses by the magicians in Egypt*, and by the false pro-
 " phets in Elias's time†) confirms my knowledge and faith
 " in Scripture. Thus the stories of the death and resur-
 " rection of Bacchus, of the exploits and birth of Hercules,
 " of the cures of Æsculapius, are imitations of the revela-
 " tion of Christ. When Christ came, according to the
 " prophecy", among your nation, healing all manner of
 " diseases, causing the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the
 " blind to see, and raising the dead to life again, he would
 " by these works have prevailed on the men of that gener-
 " ration to know him. But they treated the works as the
 " effect of magic, and himself as a forcerer. Thus when
 " they who treat of the mysteries of Mithras, relate that
 " he sprung from a rock, do not they copy Daniel's de-
 " scription of the stone cut out of the mountain without
 " hands‡? And thus I perceive the tempter the Serpent
 " in the relation of Perseus's birth of a virgin. Your

* Exod. vii. 11, 12, 22.

† 1 Kings xviii.

‡ Isai. xxxv. 1, 8.

* Dan. ii. and Isai. xxxiii. Justin here mentions the eucharist, "the bread (*αρου*), and the drink (*ποτηριου*), which our Christ ordered us to offer in memory of his incarnation and blood, (*με μνημενον του ζωματος και του αιματος αυτου*.)"

“ teachers have taken away many entire passages^y from
 “ the version of the Seventy, which declare him, Christ, to
 “ be God and man, crucified and subject to death, ἐν Θείῳ
 “ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ σταυρωμένος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων. In the 96th
 “ Psalm and 10th verse it is written, ‘ Say among the
 “ Heathen, that the Lord reigneth *from wood*:’ but your
 “ interpreters omit the words *from wood*. Among the
 “ Heathen it has never been said that any of your race
 “ should reign as Lord and God, except only the cruci-
 “ fied *one*: the whole Psalm refers to him, and the Holy
 “ Spirit declares how different he is from the idol gods
 “ of the Heathen. This mutilation of Scripture is more
 “ dreadful than the idolatry of the golden calf, than the
 “ sacrifice of children to Devils, than the destruction of
 “ the prophets.”

Trypho. “ That Psalm appears to me to be addressed to
 “ no other than the Father, who created the heavens and
 “ the earth.”

Justin. “ The whole universe is exhorted to sing praises
 “ of gratitude to God, on account of salvation effected by
 “ the passion of Christ.”

XXI.

[Here commentators place the end of the first day’s conference. The Dialogue continues with a mutilated quotation from Exodus xxxi. 16. And the passage in the 23d chapter of Exodus, ‘ Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way. Beware of him, and obey his voice: for *my name* is in him,’ is applied to Joshua (Jesus) as a type of Jesus Christ.]

Justin proceeds to draw these inferences: “ If *that God*
 “ appeared under such various forms, wherefore should
 “ we doubt that he became incarnate and was born of a
 “ Virgin, according to the will of the Father, and in fulfil-

^y Some instances are given, of which the chief is Jerem. xi. 19.

“ment of the Scriptures^z? The promises and threatenings
 “of Jesus Christ himself are a confirmation of his ministry^a.
 “And we who believe Jesus, who was crucified under Pon-
 “tius Pilate, to be our Lord, by adjuration now subject to
 “our power all demons and evil spirits. It has always been
 “foretold that Christ should suffer, before he came to
 “reign, and he himself declared that the Son of man must
 “suffer many things, and be rejected of the Scribes and
 “Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again the third day.
 “David^b sang that his birth was of the womb of the
 “morning, and proclaimed him the Christ to be the God
 “of strength, ever adored.”

Trypho. “I still desire an explanation of the prophecy of
 “Isaiah, which ye refer to Christ, and we to Hezekiah.”

Justin. “Tell me, how can it be said of Hezekiah, that
 “before he ‘knew to cry, My father, and my mother, the
 “riches of Damascus and the spoil of Assyria were taken
 “away^c?’ This never took place with respect to Heze-
 “kiah or any Jew: but as soon as Christ was born, the
 “magi from Arabia came to worship him, and bring him
 “gifts^d. Herod, who, on account of his iniquity, is called
 “the king of Assyria, when the Arabian wise men did not
 “return according to his request, and when Joseph and
 “Mary had escaped into Egypt, had all the male infants
 “in Bethlehem put to death, according to the prophecy,
 “In Rama was a voice heard, Rachel weeping for her
 “children^e.’ That ‘the riches of Damascus and the spoils
 “of Assyria were taken away,’ may also signify the demo-
 “lition of the power of evil angels, accomplished when
 “the magi worshipped Christ. Ye will do well to learn
 “what ye do not understand from us Christians, who have

^z See Dan. vii. 13. Isai. liii. 8. and ix. 6.

^a Matt. viii. 11, 12. Luke xiii. 28, 29.

^b Psalm cx. 3. lxxii. 11.

^c Isaiah viii. 4.

^d Here follows a relation of the birth of Christ, as in the Gospel.

^e Jerem. xxxi. 15. Matt. ii. 18.

“ the grace of God, and not to enforce by all means your
 “ own doctrines, dishonouring the things of God. Isaiah
 “ says, ‘ This people draw near to me; they honour me
 “ with their lips, but their heart is far from me : therefore
 “ the wisdom of their wise men shall perish^f. ”

XXII.

Trypho, (with some anger, but fearing, as his countenance expressed, the Scriptures,) said, “ The words of
 “ God are holy : but your explanations are artful, nay
 “ rather blasphemous. Ye say that the angels have fol-
 “ lowed evil, and have apostatized from God.”

“ I answered in a milder tone to sooth him. I admire
 “ your religious feeling ; and trust you will exercise it to-
 “ wards him to whom the angels are said to minister^g. I
 “ have not spoken rashly : Isaiah bears testimony that evil
 “ angels inhabit Egypt^h ; Zechariah and Job mention the
 “ adversary, the Devilⁱ ; Moses speaks of the accursed
 “ serpent, who tempted Eve, and of the Egyptian magi-
 “ cians ; and David calls these demons the Gods of the
 “ nations^k. ”

Trypho. “ You endeavour to save yourself under the
 “ shelter of Scripture. Tell me truly, do ye confess that
 “ Jerusalem shall be restored ; do ye expect that your peo-
 “ ple shall be gathered together and rejoice in Christ, to-
 “ gether with the patriarchs and the prophets, and those
 “ of our race, proselytes also, before the coming of Christ ?
 “ or have you granted this only for the sake of argu-
 “ ment ? ”

XXIII.

Justin. “ I am not reduced so low, Trypho, as to say
 “ what I do not think. I have acknowledged that these
 “ are my own sentiments, and the sentiments of many

^f Isai. xxix. 13, 14.^g Dan. vii. 13, 14.^h Isai. xxx. 1, 6.ⁱ Zech. iii. 2. Job i. 6.^k Gen. iii. Exod. vii. viii. Psalm xcvi. 5.

" others: yet that many also pure and pious Christians
 " think differently. I have allowed that some who pro-
 " fess Christianity are without religion, and are in fact
 " impious heretics. Let me recapitulate the substance of
 " what I have said. I appeal not to men, or the doctrines
 " of men, but to God, and the doctrines derived from
 " God. Although you may have conversed with some
 " nominal Christians, whose profession of faith is different,
 " and who blaspheme the God of Abraham, the God of
 " Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who say that there is no
 " resurrection of the dead¹, but that their souls are receiv-
 " ed into heaven, at the moment of death, do not suppose
 " these are Christians: in the same manner, as the Saddu-
 " cees, and many other sectaries and heretics amongst
 " you, are Jews and sons of Abraham only in name. I
 " myself, with all true Christians, think there will be a re-
 " surrection of the flesh. We also think that the pro-
 " phets^m teach us there will be a dwelling for a thousand
 " years in Jerusalem, rebuilt, beautified, and enlarged.
 " As among your people, in the time of the holy prophets,
 " there were many false prophets: so among us, upon
 " whom the prophetic gifts have devolved, arise false
 " teachers, as our Lord foretold, and admonished us to
 " beware of them. He foretold that we should be put to
 " death, and hated for his name's sake; and that many
 " false prophets and false Christs should arise, and should
 " seduce many: and thus it comes to pass. Knowing the
 " terror of the Lord, we institute these conferences from

¹ At this passage Dr. Jebb has collected the opinions of the Fathers, of Irenæus, lib. v. c. 5, 31. of Tertullian *De Animâ*, c. 34. and *De Testim. Animæ*, c. 4. to prove, that the general opinion of the Antenicene Fathers was, that the eternal rewards or punishments of men would not be determined until the dissolution of this world, and the day of judgment. It does not appear that they thought the intermediate state a purgatory.

^m *Isai.* lxx. 17. to the end. *Apocal.* xx. 4—7.

" holy Scripture: and not for the love of money, of glory,
 " or of pleasure. None can lay these things to our charge:
 " for we live not like the princes of your people, who were
 " described as companions of thieves, lovers of gifts, and
 " followers after rewards". Because some Christians are
 " unworthy of the name, blaspheme not therefore the
 " Scriptures and Christ. The words, ' The Lord said unto
 ' my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, &c.' and ' Thou art
 ' a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,' cannot
 " truly apply to Hezekiah. But our Jesus sent forth the
 ' rod of his power' in Jerusalem, the word of his calling
 " and of repentance to all nations of the earth, over whom
 " their gods, that is to say, devils, had exercised dominion.
 " His mighty word prevailed on many to leave the devils,
 " whom they had served, and to believe in the Almighty
 " God, through him. The Holy Ghost by Isaiah pro-
 " mised, ' The Lord will give a sign: Behold, a virgin shall
 ' conceive:' but if the birth of Christ be not miraculous,
 " the promised sign is not accomplished. You ought not
 " to think it impossible for God to do what he pleases,
 " particularly when the fulfilment of his own prophecies
 " is in question. That this Christ, who appeared in an
 " abject condition, is the Lord of power, ye ought to be
 " persuaded by what passes before your eyes. Every evil
 " spirit is conquered and subdued by the name of this the
 " Son of God, the first-born of all creatures, born of a
 " virgin, and made man liable to suffering, who was cru-
 " cified under Pontius Pilate by your people, and died and
 " rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven. But
 " if ye adjure evil spirits by the names of your kings, or
 " just men, or prophets or patriarchs, they will not be
 " subject to you. Angels and powers are subject, accord-
 " ing to the words of David, to him who is the Lord of

^a Isaiah i. 23.

“ power, Christ Jesus. We have but one answer to make
 “ to your questions on this subject; as he who is often
 “ asked how many two and two make, must often give
 “ the same answer, four°. In fine, Christ has redeemed us,
 “ immersed as we were in the most weighty sins, by his
 “ crucifixion on the wood of the cross, and by the cleans-
 “ ing of water, and has made us temples of prayer and
 “ worship.”

XXIV.

Trypho. “ Believe me, I put questions to you for the
 “ sake of information. Now these words of Isaiah, ‘ There
 “ shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a
 “ Branch out of his roots: and the spirit of the Lord shall
 “ rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom, &c P.’ refer, you say,
 “ to Christ; whom you affirm to have had preexistence as
 “ God, (*Θεον αυτον προϋπαρχοντα λεγεις,*) and that he became
 “ incarnate by the will of God, and was born a man of a
 “ virgin. How can it be proved that he was preexistent,
 “ who is filled with the powers of the Holy Spirit, accord-
 “ ing to Isaiah’s description, as if he stood in need of
 “ them ?”

Justin. “ There is much good sense in your question.
 “ The powers of the Holy Spirit are here mentioned to
 “ have descended upon Christ, not because they were
 “ wanted by him, but because in him they rested and re-
 “ ceived their full accomplishment. Solomon had the

° Here follow several quotations from Scripture, particularly from Isaiah lxvi. 5—12. and allusions to the rod of Moses, Jacob’s stone, &c. as types of the cross, and of Christ.

P Isai. xi. 1, 2, 3.

¶ Bishop Bull observes, that if Justin’s sentiments had been those of an Arian, no such difficulty, as Trypho states, could have arisen; viz. that Christ, though very God, yet required and received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. *Defens. Fid. Nicen. f. ii. c. 4. p. 68.*

Dr. Jebb remarks, that Justin would perhaps have done better to have given the explanation which Tertullian has done, *Adversus Judæos, c. 9. viz. that Christ was filled with the Holy Spirit as man.*

“ spirit of wisdom, Daniel of understanding and counsel,
“ Moses of fortitude and piety, Elias of fear, and Isaiah of
“ knowledge : and others possessed these or similar gifts,
“ separately or collectively, as Jeremiah, the twelve Pro-
“ phets, and David. But the Spirit rested upon Christ :
“ this was the fulfilment of the old dispensation, and from
“ that time these powers have ceased among you. He
“ had his virtue at his birth, and received increase
“ through every age, until thirty. John was his fore-
“ runner ; and when Jesus came to the river Jordan,
“ where John was baptizing, a fire was kindled in Jor-
“ dan ; and when he came up from the water, the Holy
“ Ghost, in the form of a dove, flew down upon him, as
“ the Apostles of this very Christ of ours have written.
“ He did not stand in need of baptism or the holy Spirit ;
“ nor was it for his own sake that he was born and cruci-
“ fied : but for the sake of mankind, who through Adam
“ became subject to death, and the wiles of the serpent,
“ besides the particular offences of each sinner. For God
“ willing them to be in liberty of choice, and masters of
“ themselves, created both angels and men, to do each as
“ he is able. If they choose the things which please him,
“ he will preserve them from corruption and pain : but if
“ they do evil, he will punish each, as seems fit to him.
“ Christ’s entering into Jerusalem upon an ass did not
“ make him Christ, but was a sign to men that he was
“ Christ : and the ministry of John the Baptist was an-
“ other sign that Jesus was Christ. When he came to John,
“ and was thought the son of a carpenter, being without
“ external honour, (and himself a maker of ploughs and
“ yokes, that he might give an example of a just and la-
“ borious life,) the Spirit of God, for the sake of men, de-
“ scended upon him, and a voice from heaven was heard,
“ saying, ‘ Thou art my Son ; this day have I begotten
“ thee : ’ that is, now is thy birth among men.”

XXV.

Trypho. "Be assured that all our race expect the Messiah : we confess also that these Scriptures refer to him ; and I assent to the propriety of the name Jesus, which the son of Nun had, being given him. But we doubt Christ's being hanged so ignominiously on the cross. The holy Scriptures declare him liable to suffering ; but I doubt whether they declare him subject to that express suffering, which the law pronounces to be accursed."

Justin. "The prophets describe the Messiah as led to death, treated with ignominy, beaten with stripes, numbered among malefactors, and led as a lamb to the slaughter, of a generation not to be declared^r. And those who understand the prophets will say that this is the Christ, for this very reason, because they hear that he was crucified. The reading of words of the prophets will be of little use, unless their reasons and meaning are explained. If any one should ask you wherefore Enoch and Noah, although they had not circumcision, nor celebrated the sabbath, were accepted of God : yet it pleased him to justify the posterity of Abraham until the time of Moses by circumcision ; but those who succeeded Moses by circumcision, and other rites, viz. sabbaths, and victims, and ashes and oblations : what reason could you give for these things, except, as I said before, that God knew, by his prescience, that your people would be ejected from Jerusalem ? Your only peculiar mark is circumcision : but Abraham, before he was circumcised, was said to be circumcised in the sight of God by faith. And thus we believing in God through Christ, and having a useful circumcision, viz. that of the

^r Here Justin enumerates passages of Scripture, in which he thinks the cross is prefigured ; as where Moses stretches out his hands for the defeat of Amalek ; in the benediction of Joseph, Deut. xxxiii. 13—17. in the cure for the bite of serpents in the wilderness, Numb. xxi. 8, 9.

“ heart, shall appear, we hope, just and acceptable in the
“ fight of God. Your sabbaths and oblations, and the
“ temple were instituted, as I have said, that ye might not
“ fall into idolatry, and forget God through impiety and
“ atheism. There were many generations of men before
“ Moses, and God will be true and just to them : for all
“ his ways are righteous, and there is no injustice in him.
“ Take care therefore that ye obtain salvation by Christ,
“ who pleased God, and received testimonies from him.
“ He always and by all means offers to all men all things
“ that are just. Every race of men knew that adultery
“ and fornication and murder were evil : and although all
“ committed these sins, they were conscious of the depravity
“ of them, except those who being filled by the unclean
“ spirit, and corrupted by evil communications and bad laws,
“ lost their natural feelings, or rather extinguished and
“ smothered them. For we see men doing to others what
“ they would not have done to themselves, and blaming
“ others for faults which they themselves commit. Well
“ does our Lord say, that all justice and religion are fulfilled
“ in these two commandments : ‘ Thou shalt love the Lord
“ thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength,
“ and thy neighbour as thyself.’ For he who thus loves
“ God, being full of piety, will honour no other god, and
“ will honour that angel, according to the will of God,
“ who is beloved by the Lord and God himself. No one
“ wishes ill to himself ; and he who loves his neighbour
“ as himself, will seek to do him good by all means.
“ Nothing is so near a neighbour to man, as man, of his
“ own species, endowed with the same passions, and reason.
“ Whoever has fulfilled these two precepts is justified.
“ But ye have shewn no love towards God or his prophets,
“ or among yourselves : on the contrary, ye have been
“ idolaters and persecutors of just men ; so far that ye
“ laid hands on Christ himself, and execrate

“ those who demonstrate that Christ was crucified by you.
“ Ye affirm that he suffered deservedly as a malefactor,
“ and ye will not make a proper use of the sign delivered
“ by Moses : venting whatever propositions come into
“ your minds, but destitute of proof, when ye meet a firm
“ Christian. Did not God command by Moses, that no
“ image should be made of things in heaven above, or in
“ the earth beneath ? yet without a breach of his justice,
“ he had a brazen serpent made by Moses in the wilder-
“ nefs, by means of which those who were bitten by ser-
“ pents were healed. This was a mystery, by which he
“ signified that the power of the serpent, the cause of
“ Adam’s transgression, should be destroyed : and to those
“ who believe in him, whose crucifixion was shadowed by
“ this sign, salvation was promised, and a deliverance from
“ the bites of the serpent, which are bad actions, idolatry,
“ and other wickedness. What other reason can be given
“ for the erection of this symbol, in contradiction to the
“ commandment against graven images ?

“ Now as God enjoined the making of the brazen ser-
“ pent, without breaking his own laws : so the curse pro-
“ nounced in the law against persons crucified exemplifies
“ a parallel case. The curse is not only applicable to
“ Christ, by whom he saves all who are obnoxious to the
“ curse, but to the whole human race ; for it is written by
“ Moses, ‘ Cursed is every one who does not keep all the
“ words of this law, to do them : ’ and ye will not venture
“ to assert that any one has observed them punctually.
“ Much more are the Gentiles exposed to this curse, who,
“ besides not keeping the law, worship idols, and commit
“ other gross sins. Since God the Father of the universe
“ willed his own Christ to take upon him the curses of all,
“ knowing that he would raise him up again after cruci-

* Deut. xxvii. 26.

“fixion and death, wherefore do ye speak of him, who
 “endured, according to the will of the Father, as ac-
 “curfed, and not rather deplore yourselves? Although the
 “Father brought it to pafs that he fhould thus fuffer for
 “the human race, ye have not been God’s minifters in
 “this work: as ye acted not piously in putting the pro-
 “phets to death. Nor can ye fay, if the Father wifhed
 “him to fuffer, that by his ftripes all men might be
 “healed, we have done no iniquity. If repenting of your
 “fins, and acknowledging this to be Chrift, and keeping
 “his commands, ye fay this, I have faid before, ye fhall
 “be delivered from your fins. But if ye execrate him,
 “and thofe who believe in him, and as often as ye have
 “power, put them to death, his blood muft be required
 “at your hands, as unjuft men and finners, hard-hearted,
 “and devoid of underftanding. Our hope in Chrift cru-
 “cified is not only confirmed by the curfe pronounced in
 “the Law, but alfo by the divine prediction, that your
 “people would not know him, that he was before all
 “things, and fhould be an eternal Priest of God, King,
 “and Chrift*. Thus it has come to pafs: ye curfe all
 “Chriftians in your fynagogues, and other nations ex-
 “ecute thefe curfes by putting Chriftians to death: to
 “whom we fay, ‘Ye are our brethren, acknowledge the
 “truth of God.’ And when neither they nor you are
 “moved by our perfuafions, but ye urge us to deny the
 “name of Chrift, we prefer death, and endure it, being
 “perfuated that whatever good things God has promifed
 “by Chrift, he will abundantly perform. In addition,
 “we offer up our prayers for you, that Chrift would have
 “mercy on you. For Chrift has commanded us to pray
 “for our enemies: and we fee Almighty God abundant

* “Justin here fignifies, that God the Father decreed that the fins of
 “mankind fhould be expiated only by him who was before all, and an
 “eternal High-Priest.” Bulli Judic. Ecclef. Cathol. c. vii. f. 5.

" in mercy and loving-kindness, who makes his sun to
 " rise equally upon the ungrateful and the just, and rains
 " alike upon the holy and the bad : all of whom he will
 " bring to judgment ".

" In the Gospel he says : ' All things are delivered to
 " me from the Father. None know the Father but the
 " Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom
 " the Son shall reveal him.' He has revealed to us all
 " things which by his grace we understand from Scrip-
 " ture : knowing that he is the first-born of God, and
 " that he has existed before all creatures, and that he is
 " the Son of the patriarchs, being incarnate of a Virgin
 " of their race, and endured to take the form of man
 " without comeliness, in dishonour, and subject to suf-
 " fering. He himself prophesied, ' It behoves the Son of
 " man to suffer many things, and to be rejected by the
 " Scribes and Pharisees, and to be crucified, and to rise
 " again the third day.' He called himself the Son of man,
 " on account of his birth of a Virgin of the seed of Da-
 " vid, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. Eve while a virgin,
 " being seduced by the serpent, bore disobedience and
 " death : the Virgin Mary conceived of the Holy Ghost
 " faith and joy, and the holy Child born of her was the
 " Son of God. Of her was he born, whom the Scriptures
 " declare, by whom God destroys the Serpent, and an-
 " gels and men who resemble him ; and works redemp-
 " tion from death to those who repent and believe in him.
 " These words of the twenty-second Psalm, ' Our fathers
 " hoped in thee, and thou didst deliver them : I am a

■ Justin gives here more types and prophecies of Christ's crucifixion from Psalm iii. 4, 5. Isaiah lxxv. 2. liv. 9. and particularly the twenty-second Psalm : " They pierced my hands and my feet ; " " They parted my raiment amongst them." " The Jews," he says, " deny that this prophecy relates to the Messiah : but what Christ or anointed King ever suffered crucifixion among you, except Jesus only ? "

‘ worm, and no man ; a reproach of men, and an outcast
 ‘ of the people, &c.’ shew that the fathers who hoped in
 ‘ God were saved by his help, and not by any counsel or
 ‘ strength of their own. Again : ‘ All who saw me laugh-
 ‘ ed me to scorn, shooting out their lips, and saying,
 ‘ He trusted in God, let him deliver him, if he will have
 ‘ him :” these words are a prophecy of what happened
 ‘ to Christ crucified.

“ When Joseph fled into Egypt, if it be asked where-
 fore God did not rather destroy Herod ; we may pre-
 viously ask, could not God originally have annihilated
 the Serpent, instead of putting enmity between him
 and the woman’s seed ? Could he not have created at
 once a multitude of men ? But he knew that it was best
 to give them a choice of following what is good, and
 time of preparation both for general and particular
 judgments. Thus our Lord acted differently at diffe-
 rent times, according to the will of the Father, de-
 clared by the prophets : he refuted the disputations
 Scribes and Pharisees, and all the masters of your race :
 and his tongue, like a plentiful stream turned backward,
 was silent before Pilate.

“ Again : the words, ‘ Thou art my God ; forsake me
 not ;’ teach all men to place their hope in God who
 made all things, and to seek safety and assistance from
 him only : nor is the opinion to be entertained that
 salvation can be obtained by birth, or wealth, or power,
 or wisdom.

‘ My bones are poured out like water : my heart in
 ‘ my body is like melting wax :’ these words are a pro-
 phecy of what befel Christ in the mount of Olives, the
 night that he was betrayed. And the prayer, ‘ If it
 be possible, let this cup pass from me,’ proves that the
 sufferings of the Son of God were real : as the expres-
 sion, ‘ My tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth,’ is

“ prophetic of his silence^x. Remember the sign of Jonah,
 “ which Christ appropriated to himself: instead of repent-
 “ ing like the Ninevites, ye have sent messengers into all
 “ countries to say, that an impious and unjust sedition
 “ had been raised by one Jesus, a Galilæan, whose body,
 “ after crucifixion, was stolen away by his disciples.

“ All your commentators agree that the prophecy of
 “ Micah^y relates to Christ, but they are not aware that it
 “ prefigures his two advents, one in which he is in a state
 “ of humility and suffering, and crucified; and the se-
 “ cond, in which he shall come from heaven in glory,
 “ when the man of sin, speaking great swelling things
 “ against the Highest, shall dare to do injury to us Chris-
 “ tians; who have received the true worship of God from
 “ the law and the word proceeding from Jerusalem,
 “ through the Apostles of Jesus, and fly to the God of
 “ Jacob and the God of Israel. Surfeited with war, and
 “ mutual slaughter, and all kind of malice, we come
 “ from all countries to turn our swords into ploughshares,
 “ and our spears into instruments of husbandry; the soil
 “ which we cultivate is true piety, justice, humanity,
 “ faith, hope from the Father in him who was crucified:
 “ and we live in domestic content with our wives each
 “ under his own vine. It is plain that none can terrify
 “ or enslave us who have believed in Jesus through the
 “ whole earth: for though smitten with the sword, cru-
 “ cified, thrown to beasts, tormented in chains and fire
 “ and other pains, still we recede not from our profession
 “ of faith; and the more torments are exercised against
 “ us, in the same proportion do the numbers of those
 “ who follow the faith and religion of Jesus increase; as

^x I have omitted some allusions to Scripture and the crucifixion which occur here.

^y Micah iv. 1—8.

“ a vine flourishes by being pruned. The vine of God
“ and of our Saviour Christ is his people.

“ Our Christ therefore, who suffered and was cruci-
“ fied, did not fall under the curse of the Law, but ma-
“ nifested himself the only Saviour of those who departed
“ not from his faith. The blood of the passover sprinkled
“ on the door-posts saved the Jews, when the first-born of
“ the Egyptians were slain: and Christ is our passover,
“ according to Isaiah's words, ‘ He was led as a lamb to
“ the slaughter.’ The blood of Christ will deliver those
“ who have believed from death. The red lines which
“ were given by Joshua's spies, to be fastened at the
“ window of the harlot Rahab, are a type that by Christ's
“ blood fornicators and all sinners among mankind, who
“ amend their lives, may receive remission of sins. Your
“ teachers confine themselves to low, mean, and groveling
“ points, and they have not the spirit to enter into an
“ exposition of matters of real importance and dignity.
“ Thus are they, as our Lord called them, ‘ whited se-
“ pulchres, specious without, and within full of dead
“ men's bones; who strain at a gnat, and swallow a
“ camel; blind guides.’ Ye cannot extract their true use
“ from the prophetic writings, unless ye despise the doc-
“ trines of those who exalt themselves, and wish to be
“ called ‘ Master, Master.’ That Oshea, as I have before
“ said, who was sent out with Caleb to spy the land of
“ Canaan, Moses named Joshua or Jesus. Wherefore he
“ did so, you ask not; you neither doubt nor inquire.
“ Therefore Christ is hid from you; and reading you do
“ not understand: and even now, when you hear that
“ our Jesus is Christ, you do not consider the reason of it
“ with yourself, that this name is not given to him idly
“ and at hazard. But your theology is employed in ela-
“ borate dissertations upon the addition of an *a* to the
“ name of Abraam, and an *r* to that of Sarah. You pay

“ no regard to the tranſmutation of Joſhua’s name, or to
 “ his character; how he alone of his contemporaries led
 “ the remnant of the people into the holy land, and di-
 “ vided it by lot among them: as Jeſus Chriſt will con-
 “ vert the diſperſed people, and will give a portion of good
 “ land to each. The one divided a temporary inheritance;
 “ being neither Chriſt God, nor the Son of God (ὁ Χριστός
 “ ὁ Θεός ὡν, ὅδε υἱὸς Θεοῦ :) the other, after a holy resurrec-
 “ tion, will give us an eternal poſſeſſion. One, having
 “ been ſurnamed Jeſus, and receiving ſtrength from his
 “ Spirit, cauſed the ſun to ſtand ſtill: for I have ſhewn
 “ that it was Jeſus, miniſtering to the will of the Father,
 “ who appeared and converſed with Moſes and Abraham,
 “ and the other Patriarchs. I ſay that he became man of
 “ the virgin Mary, and is for ever. He it is by whom the
 “ heavens and earth were made, and through whom the
 “ Father will renew them: he will cauſe eternal light to
 “ ſhine in Jeruſalem. He is King of Salem after the order
 “ of Melchizedek, an eternal High-prieſt of the Moſt
 “ High. He with knives of ſtone, that is to ſay with the
 “ words of our Lord, has given a ſecond circumciſion to
 “ the people, and cut off idolatrous worſhip: Chriſt, as I
 “ have ſhewn, is termed by the Prophets a ſtone and a rock,
 “ and they who receive this ſecond circumciſion enter into
 “ the holy land. Their hearts are circumciſed from all evil,
 “ and waſhed with the water of eternal life.

“ You will perhaps ſay, that there was a Jeſus a high-
 “ prieſt in the Babyloniſh captivity: but I undertake to
 “ ſay, that the revelation under him was made through
 “ our Prieſt and God and Chriſt, the Son of the Father
 “ of all.”

XXVI.

“ By Chriſt crucified we are freed from the filth of
 “ corruption. The devil our conſtant adverſary preſſed

“ on us, wishing to draw all men to himself: and the
 “ angel or power of God, sent to us by Jesus Christ, over-
 “ comes and drives him from us. We are as brands
 “ snatched from the burning, being purified from our
 “ former sins, and proved by afflictions and a fiery trial,
 “ with which the devil and his ministers exercise us. Je-
 “ sus the Son of God has promised to clothe with pre-
 “ pared garments those who keep his precepts, and to
 “ receive them into his eternal kingdom. As one man
 “ we all believe in the Creator of all things, and are his
 “ true priesthood. God receives sacrifices only from
 “ priests: and he accepts the sacrifices, namely the eu-
 “ charist of the bread and of the cup, which all Christians
 “ offer in the name, and through the command of Jesus
 “ Christ. But your offerings he has rejected*: though
 “ you interpret the words of the prophecy, ‘ that God’s
 “ name should be glorified among the Gentiles,’ as refer-
 “ ring to the prayers of the Jews dispersed in all coun-
 “ tries, after the capture of Jerusalem. I also say that the
 “ prayers and praises of worthy hearts are the only per-
 “ fect offerings and sacrifices acceptable to God: and these
 “ Christians only can offer, in the commemoration of that
 “ dry and liquid food, which is a memorial of that passion
 “ which God through God endured^a, whose name your
 “ high-priests and teachers have caused to be blasphemed
 “ throughout all the world. But God will take away all
 “ reproach from us in that day, when he shall raise all
 “ men from the dead, and shall place some without cor-
 “ ruption and death, and pain, in an eternal and incor-
 “ ruptible kingdom, and shall deliver others over to the
 “ everlasting punishment of fire. The prophecy cannot
 “ relate to you, for many countries and nations are igno-
 “ rant of the Jews: but there is no race of men, but

* Malachi i. 10, 11.

^a *Εν ᾧ καὶ τὸ πάθος ὁ πρεσβύτερος δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεός, (ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεμνηται.*

"rians, or Greeks, or of any other country, by whatever
 "name they are designated, whether dwelling in waggons
 "and without houses, or in tents among their flocks,
 "among whom prayers and praises are not offered to the
 "Father and Creator of all in the name of the crucified
 "Jesús. Be no longer therefore lovers of contention ;
 "but believe in this Christ, an excellent High-Priest, an
 "eternal King, as the Son of God. Do not suppose that
 "at his second coming Isaiah and the other Prophets ex-
 "hort that sacrifices of blood or libations should be offer-
 "ed on the altar, but true and spiritual praises and thankf-
 "givings.

XXVII.

"These things we could not understand in the Scrip-
 "tures, unless we had received grace from God. We are
 "not a despised and barbarous nation, as Carians and
 "Phrygians, for God has chosen us, and called us his
 "people, even a holy people. We are that race, which
 "God of old promised to Abraham, saying, that he should
 "be the Father of many nations, not of Arabians, Egyp-
 "tians, or any particular people, (for Ismael was the Fa-
 "ther of a great nation and Esau :) but Christ granted
 "this grace to Abraham, calling him from the land which
 "he inhabited. And us he has called from the evil con-
 "versation of our former lives, which resembled those of
 "other men : and together with Abraham we shall possess
 "by inheritance the holy land, everlasting life : for we are
 "children of Abraham, having the same faith with him.
 "As he believed the voice of God, and it was counted to
 "him for righteousness, so we believing the same voice,
 "again uttered by the Apostles of Christ, and before by
 "the Prophets, have renounced all worldly things even
 "to death. Some of the children of Abraham may be
 "likened to the sand on the sea-shore, not only on account
 "of their multitude, but for their unfruitful barrenness.

“ The Prophet says, ‘ The sceptre shall not depart from
 ‘ Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until
 ‘ Shiloh come ^b.’ Now this is said, not of Judah, but of
 “ Christ Jesus, who led your fathers out of Egypt, who
 “ has come, as we have shewn at large, and whom we ex-
 “ pect to come again in the clouds ; when he shall give an
 “ eternal kingdom to his faithful servants, and shall send
 “ the impious and impenitent into everlasting fire.

XXVIII.

“ My earnest desire is to speak the truth on these points,
 “ though I should be torn in pieces by you. Thus I was
 “ not afraid of my own people, the Samaritans ; but in
 “ my address to the Emperor, declared that they were
 “ seduced to worship Simon Magus as their God. The
 “ times of idolatry, when men worshipped the sun, God
 “ winked at : but none ever endured to die for his faith
 “ in the sun. For the name of Jesus men of all ranks
 “ have endured and do endure all torments, rather than
 “ deny him. And if now repentance and reformation are
 “ effected by him, and devils are subject to his name, what
 “ power will attend his second coming ! ‘ I have placed
 ‘ thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mightest be
 ‘ for salvation to the ends of the earth ^c :’ these words, ye
 “ think, are spoken of the Giaour ^d, Strangers and Prose-
 “ lytes ; but they in truth refer to us who are illuminated
 “ by Jesus. As from Jacob only, who is surnamed Israel,
 “ all your nation is called Jacob and Israel ; so we from
 “ Christ, who has begotten us to God, are called and are
 “ true Sons of God, while we keep his commands. Thus
 “ the Psalmist ; ‘ I have said, Ye are Gods, and Sons of the

^b Gen. xlix. 10. Justin here prefers the version of the Septuagint : and accuses the Jews of expunging some parts of Scripture, “ with a wooden saw.”

^c Isai. xlix. 6.

^d Γηγεν, Γενορας. Eusebius lib. i. 7. Isaiah xiv. 1.

“ Highest^c; and we have already shewn that he calls Christ
 “ God. The name of Israel signifies ‘ man conquering
 “ power,’ which is denoted by Jacob’s wrestling with him,
 “ who appeared to do the will of the Father, and who
 “ was God, as being the Son the first-begotten of all
 “ creatures. This was a sign of what Christ incarnate
 “ should do: who overcame and cast down the devil who
 “ tempted him to worship him.

“ He who is called the Angel of great counsel and Man
 “ by Ezekiel; and as the Son of man by Daniel; and a
 “ Child by Isaiah; and Christ and God to be adored by
 “ David; and David and Christ and a Stone by many;
 “ and Wisdom by Solomon; and Joseph and Judas and a
 “ Star by Moses; and the Branch by Zechariah; and sub-
 “ ject to suffering, and Jacob and Israel again by Isaiah;
 “ also a Branch, a Flower, the chief Corner Stone, and the
 “ Son of God—this same, O Trypho, has come and was
 “ born and suffered, and ascended into heaven, and shall
 “ come again to be the judge of all men, even to Adam;
 “ and then shall your twelve tribes, who revile him, mourn.
 “ If ye had understood the Prophets, ye would not have
 “ denied that he is God, the Son of the only unbegotten
 “ and ineffable God.

“ The Father and Lord of all comes not into any place,
 “ neither walks, nor sleeps, nor rises, but remains in his
 “ own habitation, wherever it may be, seeing and hearing
 “ all, not indeed with sensible organs, but by his infinite
 “ power he overlooks all things, and knows all things,
 “ and none of us are hid from him. He moves not, nor is
 “ he contained in the world, for he existed before it was
 “ made. How should he appear in a corner of the earth,
 “ when the people at mount Sinai could not endure to
 “ behold his glory? The Patriarchs never therefore beheld

^c Psalm lxxxii.

“ the Father and Lord of the universe, but Christ, him
 “ who, according to the will of the Father, is God. I
 “ know that some explain these appearances to be emanations of the Deity: but it is certain that angels have a
 “ real existence; and that power proceeding from God f,
 “ which the sacred word calls God, and Angel, as we have
 “ before shewn, is not merely a divine emanation, as light
 “ from the sun, but is in number another not nominally,
 “ but really, and was born of the Father, without a division or diminution of his essence, as fire is kindled by
 “ fire.

“ I have shewn that God always promised to call to
 “ himself all nations of the world through Christ, though
 “ he chose to himself your race, a useless, a disobedient,
 “ and a faithless people. Even now your hands are lifted
 “ up to do evil, nor do you repent of having killed Christ,
 “ and of persecuting us, who believe in God the Father
 “ through him: while on the contrary we pray for you
 “ and for all men, as we are taught by Christ our Lord to
 “ pray for our enemies, to love those who hate us, and to
 “ bless those who curse us. It will be better for you to
 “ follow God than your blind guides, who to this day
 “ permit you to have four or five wives each. The marriages of Jacob prefignified Christianity: for Leah is
 “ your people and synagogue, and Rachel is our church,
 “ and Christ has served for both even to the cross. Leah’s
 “ weak eyes denote your blind understandings; and as
 “ Rachel stole her father’s gods, and hid them, so have
 “ our paternal and material gods perished.

XXIX.

“ Abstain, my brethren, from speaking evil of him who
 “ was crucified, neither deride his stripes, by which it is

f Vide Bulli Judic. Eccles. Cathol. f. viii. p. 84.

“ possible for all to be healed, as we are healed. They
“ who prepare themselves by water, and faith, and the
“ cross, and by repentance, will escape the judgment of
“ God. Leave the broken cisterns, which will hold no
“ water, of your masters, who teach, as the Scripture de-
“ clares, for doctrine, the commandments of men; who
“ flatter you, that those who are of the seed of Abraham
“ after the flesh, shall inherit an eternal kingdom, although
“ they be sinners without faith, and disobedient. Isaiah
“ says, ‘ Unless the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a
“ remnant, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah :’
“ and Ezekiel, ‘ Noah, Daniel, and Job, shall not deliver
“ their sons or their daughters :’ neither the father for the
“ son, nor the son for the father, but each man shall die
“ for his own sin, and each shall be saved by his own
“ righteousness. ‘ Many shall come from the east and
“ from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac,
“ and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children
“ of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness.’
“ Moreover those who are foreknown that they shall be
“ evil, whether angels or men, are not evil through God’s
“ means : but each is as he is, by his own fault. That ye
“ might have no pretence for saying that it was necessary
“ that Christ should suffer, and that there should be trans-
“ gressors among the Jews, and that things could not have
“ been otherwise; I prevented this objection, by stating
“ that God, when he wished angels and men to do his
“ will, willed to make them masters of themselves to do
“ righteousness, with reason that they might by whom,
“ and for what they were made, having no prior existence,
“ and with a law, that they should be judged by him, if
“ they act contrary to right reason. And we are all,
“ angels and men, convinced in ourselves, when we do
“ evil, unless we exercise timely repentance. If the word
“ of God predicts that some angels and men must be tor-

“ mented, it is, because God foreknew that such would
“ be irrecoverably evil, and not because he made them so.
“ Wherefore if they shall repent, all who sue for it, may
“ partake the mercy of God: and the word pronounces
“ them to be blessed, ‘ Blessed is he to whom the Lord
“ shall not impute sin.’ But there is no remission of sin for
“ those who only acknowledge God, without repentance:
“ for even David, that great and anointed king and pro-
“ phet, was not pardoned, except upon his penitence, with
“ supplication and tears.”

Trypho. “ You see we came without preparation to this
“ conference. I may say we have been much gratified
“ beyond expectation; and if we could have more conver-
“ sations of this kind, we should receive more advantage,
“ by a diligent examination of the Scriptures.”

§ Justin alludes to the Gnostics, as well as the Jews.

THE END.

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has declined from 1.1 billion to 800 million. The number of people who are malnourished has declined from 1.5 billion to 1 billion. The number of people who are obese has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million.

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